Vol. IX., No. 36 *December, 1920*

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

OF

Letters Philosophy & Science

I. ON PROGRESS ... ... HILAIRE BELLOC
II. TERENCE MacSWINEY: LORD MAYOR OF CORK ... DANIEL CORKERY
III. RECENT IRISH NOVELS ... ... KATHARINE TYNAN
IV. PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE EDMOND POWER
V. BRITISH LABOUR AND IRISH NEEDS ... ... JAMES WINDER GOOD
VI. POETRY—DEIRDRE ... ... ARTHUR LITTLE
CONCERNING SONG ... ... EGBERT SANDFORD
TO MARGARET S., AGED ONE ... ... J. W. A.
FLOS MARTYRUM ... ... GEORGE NOBLE PLUNKETT
ANNAMOE ... ... PAMELA TYNAN HINKSON
VII. UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS—NO. 12 ... ... OSBORN BERGIN
VIII. S. THOMAS AND PROPERTY ... ... J. B. McLAUGHLIN
IX. THE LAW OF NATIONS ... ... ALFRED O'RAHILLY
X. STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS IN GERMANY ... S. VON DUNIN-BORKOWSKI
XI. CHRONICLE—I. THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION ... JAMES J. WALSH
II. IMPRESSIONS OF ZURICH ... ... MARY CURRAN
XII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

Dublin—The Educational Company of Ireland, Limited
London and St. Louis—B. Herder
Melbourne—William P. Linehan

Price (United Kingdom) 2/6 net *Annual Subscription 10/- post free*
(Foreign Countries) 3/- net *12/-*
(U.S.A. & Canada) 75 cents net. *$3.00*

BROWNE & NOLAN, LTD.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

St. Bernard's Sermons on the Canticle of Canticles. Translated from the original Latin by a Priest of Mount Melleray. Vol I. Crown 8vo. Cloth, 9s.

"Nobody can read these discourses without great pleasure and spiritual profit. . . They are full of wisdom."—*Catholic Times.*

Vol. II. Ready January, 1921.

Vol. III. In preparation.

The Golden Key. A short Devotional Commentary on the Lord's Prayer. By REV. P. GRIFFITH, C.SS.R. Paper cover, 6d.; by post, 8d. Cloth, 1s.; by post, 1s. 2d.

Catechism Notes. Second Edition. Revised and Enlarged. With Preface by the MOST REV. DR. MORRISROE, Bishop of Achonry. Paper cover, 6d.; by post, 8d.

The Catholic Student. Lectures on Leading Truths of Religion. By REV. MICHAEL HICKEY, D.D., PH.D., Holy Cross College, Clonliffe. Cloth, net 6s.; by post, 6s. 5d.

A Catechism of Catholic Social Principles for Employers, Workmen, Social Workers. Study Circles, etc. By JAMES P. KERR, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law. Crown 8vo. Cloth, 1s. 6d.; by post, 1s. 9d.

DUBLIN :: BELFAST :: CORK :: WATERFORD

A. THOM & CO., LIMITED,

SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER,
HUMPHREY & ARMOUR,
SULLIVAN BROTHERS,

Printers, Stationers, and Educational Publishers.

"Studies" is Printed and Bound by us and is a Specimen of our .: Magazine Work. ::

8 & 9 CROW STREET AND 20 & 21 TEMPLE LANE, DUBLIN.

SANDS & CO.

Vitalism and Scholasticism. By Sir Bertram Windle, F.R.S. Cr. 8vo. Price **8s. 6d.** net.

Twenty Cures at Lourdes. By Dr. Grandmaison. Translated by Dom H. Bevenot, O.S.B., and Dom L. Izard, O.S.B., F.R.C.S., with Preface by Sir Bertram Windle, F.R.S. Cr. 8vo. Price **7s.** net.

Blessed Oliver Plunket. By a Sister of Notre Dame. Cr. 8vo. with portrait. Price **6s.** net.

The Founding of a Northern University. The Story of Aberdeen University. By F. A. Forbes, with 6 illustrations. Cr. 8vo. Price **5s.** net.

Joan of Arc, Soldier and Saint. By I. A. Taylor, with 8 illustrations by W. Graham Robertson. Cr. 8vo. **6s.** net

Adventures Perilous, being the story of that faithful and courageous Priest of God, Father John Gerard, S.J., who, after a life of adventure and many hair-breadth escapes, came at last into a place of peace. By E. M. Wilmot Buxton, F. R. Hist. Soc. With a Preface by the Rev. C. C. Martindale, S.J. Cr. 8vo. Price **5s.** net.

Sermons and Notes of Sermons. By the late Henry Ignatius Ryder. Cr. 8vo. Price **7s. 6d.** net.

London: 15 KING ST., COVENT GARDEN, W.C.2; and EDINBURGH.

SMOKE :: :: ::

PETERSON'S PIPES.

DE LUXE A SPECIALITY.

BUY YOUR **CIGARS, CIGARETTES** and **TOBACCOS**

AT OUR BRANCHES

56 LR. O'CONNELL ST. 55 GRAFTON ST.
117 GRAFTON STREET.

FACTORY AND OFFICES—

KAPP & PETERSON, Ltd., 113 Stephen's Green, W., DUBLIN.

"Irish Messenger" Publications.

The "**IRISH MESSENGER**" pamphlets, some 300 in number, include three penny magazines:—1. The "**Messenger**" itself (monthly). 2. "**The Madonna,**" a quarterly magazine devoted to the interests of the Blessed Virgin. 3. The "**Gaelic Messenger,**" a quarterly religious magazine in the Irish language.

The following are the four last pamphlets of the "**Social Action**" Series:—No. 24, "**Social Reconstruction,**" by American Bishops; No. 25, "**The Future of Labour,**" by Rev. J. Kelleher, S.T.L.; No. 26, "**Rural Secondary Schools,**" by Rev. E. Cahill, S.J.; No. 27, "**The Reasonable Limits of State Activity,**" by his Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell.

"IRISH MESSENGER" OFFICE, DUBLIN.

Maynooth Mission to China.

THIS Irish Mission to China has its College at Dalgan Park, Galway. 300 Students have applied for admission to the College, but we have been obliged to refuse them for want of accommodation. With the greatest difficulty and inconvenience we have provided room for 42 students. We are forced to extend our living space very considerably, and we rely on the Catholic people to assist us. We depend altogether on their charity.

HOW CAN YOU ASSIST?

The best ways for you and for the Mission to China are:

1. Become Promoters of the Irish Mission League;
2. Get and read "THE FAR EAST," our monthly magazine.

Write immediately for all particulars to—

Rev. PATRICK CLEARY, D.D.,
St. Columban's College,
DALGAN PARK, GALWAY.

By assisting in this work you obtain the following advantages—

1. You get the Apostolic Blessing of Our Holy Father the Pope;
2. You share in 1,500 Masses every year;
3. Mass is offered every morning at St. Columban's for your intentions;
4. Solemn Requiem Mass is offered each year on the 2nd of November, for all deceased benefactors of the Mission;
5. The Office for the dead is said once a month for all deceased benefactors;
6. Special public Prayers are said each day for you.

Write for Particulars and Information at once.

YOUR AID IS URGENTLY NEEDED.

THE HIBERNIAN FIRE :: AND GENERAL INSURANCE COMPANY, LIMITED :: ::

HEAD OFFICES. 48 & 49 Dame St., Dublin.
BRANCHES: Dundalk, Belfast, Derry, Cork.

Policies issued cover **Fire, Fidelity Guarantee, Burglary, Third Party,** and :: :: ::

Employers' Liability Risks.

The PRACTICAL SCHOOL

CONVENT OF ST. LOUIS,

RAMSGRANGE, WATERFORD.

(Under Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.)

The School for Farmers' Daughters

TRAINED AND SPECIALLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS APPOINTED and paid by Department.

PRACTICAL INSTRUCTION IN MILKING, DAIRYING, POULTRY-KEEPING, COOKING, DRESSMAKING, HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY, LAUNDRY WORK, HORTICULTURE.

30 FREE PLACES AVAILABLE EVERY YEAR, GRANTED BY Department.

Full Particulars from THE SISTER IN CHARGE.

THE

National Land Bank

Limited

Asks for the support of all Irishmen who wish to build up the economic and social life of their own country. If we persist in exporting our money we cannot expect our people to stay at home. Business done with this Bank is at once safe, profitable and patriotic.

RATES OF INTEREST—

Current Accounts :: 2 per cent.

(No charge for keeping accounts),

Deposits :: :: 3½—5 per cent.

According to period.

68 Lower Leeson St., Dublin.

L. SMITH-GORDON,

Secretary and Manager.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION FOR IRELAND.

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE FOR IRELAND.

The Session extends from October to June.

For the Diploma of Associateship of the College a complete course of Instruction, extending over a period of four years, is given in AGRICULTURE and its ALLIED SUBJECTS (including Horticulture, Forestry, and Creamery Management), MECHANICAL and ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING, APPLIED CHEMISTRY, PHYSICS, NATURAL SCIENCE, and RURAL SCIENCE (including School Gardening).

A limited number of Entrance Scholarships are offered each year:—

(*a*) In Agriculture and its Allied Subjects.

(*b*) In Science and Technology.

The competitive examination for the award of the Scholarships in Science and Technology is held during the last week of June in each year.

The examination for Scholarships in Agriculture is held during the first week of August each year, and the examination for Entrance to the College in the Faculty of Agriculture is held at the same time.

The examinations for Entrance for all Faculties, other than Agriculture, are held (1) in the last week of June, (2) in the second week of September of each year.

Full particulars of the conditions of Entrance by examination or other qualification, of the examinations for Scholarships, and of the various Courses of Instruction, Fees, etc., may be obtained upon application to

THE REGISTRAR,
ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE FOR IRELAND,
DUBLIN.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, CORK

(*A Constituent College of the National University of Ireland*).

Full Courses for Degrees and Diplomas in

Arts, Celtic Studies, Science, Medicine, Dentistry, Engineering, Commerce, Agriculture, Law, Education, Journalism, Music.

Full particulars as to the Conditions and cost of obtaining these Degrees and Diplomas, with all other information as to the College, its facilities and Scholarships, may be obtained on application to THE REGISTRAR.

The College has a number of valuable SCHOLARSHIPS, full particulars as to which can be obtained gratis, on application to THE REGISTRAR at the College.

The HONAN HOSTEL provides for Catholic Men Students. For Terms apply to THE WARDEN.

A List of recognised Lodgings, approved by the President and the Deans of Residence, is available for the use of parents and guardians.

The College has playing grounds 15 acres in extent, available for all kinds of games.

THE

PATRIOTIC Assurance Company, Ltd.

FIRE, ACCIDENT, WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION & BURGLARY.

Registered and Head Office: **9 College Green, DUBLIN.**

CAPITAL FULLY PAID £100,000.

DIRECTORS—

JOHN MOONEY, C.V.O., D.L., J.P., Chairman. | PHILIP H. GRIERSON, Esq.
LAURENCE W. MARTIN, Esq. | JOHN SINCLAIR, Esq. (Belfast).
SIR THOMAS HENRY GRATTAN ESMONDE, BART.

Low Rates of Premium and prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims.

The position of the Company is amply secured independent of Capital.

PROPOSAL FORM AND ALL INFORMATION ON APPLICATION TO COMPANY'S AGENTS, OR TO **STUART C. SMITH, Manager & Secretary.**

BURNS, OATES & WASHBOURNE

NEW BOOKS.

THE CATHOLIC WHO'S WHO.

The 1921 Edition of this popular Year Book contains nearly five thousand brightly written biographies of Catholics who are somebodies, providing "excellent reading" (THE TIMES) for everybody. "Founded by Sir Francis Burnand, it is one of his 'happy thoughts,' which has outlived him in ever-growing usefulness" (THE GLOBE). It is invaluable as a book of reference.

Cloth, **5s.** net; postage, **9d.**

HENRY EDWARD MANNING: His Life and Labours. By SHANE LESLIE, M.A. Demy 8vo. With Illustrations. **25s.** net. *Ready shortly.*

The volume contains a number of unpublished correspondences between Cardinal Manning and Cardinals Cullen, Wiseman, and Vaughan, Archbishops Ullathorne and Walsh. The missing letters in the Talbot correspondence are supplied, and final light is thrown on Manning's relations with Mr. Gladstone and the statesmen of the day. Fresh matter appears on the inner workings of the Vatican Council. There are interesting chapters on the Irish Question illustrating Manning's dealings with Dilke and Chamberlain, with American Bishops and English Labour.

A COMMENTARY ON THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT. By DOM PAUL DELATTE, O.S.B., Abbot of Solesmes. **21s.**

FAITH AND DUTY. A new scheme of teaching the Catechism to Children. By J. F. SMITH. **7s. 6d.**

"A much needed aid."—THE MONTH.

ST. MARK'S GOSPEL, WITH COMMENTARY. By FR. ROBERT EATON. **6s**

THE MOTHER OF CHRIST; or, the Blessed Virgin Mary in Catholic Tradition, Theology and Devotion. By FR. O. R. VASSALL-PHILLIPS, C.SS.R. With Preface by His Eminence Cardinal Bourne. **7s. 6d.**

"A beautiful, devout and learned book."—IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

ON THE MORALS OF TO-DAY. By FR. SLATER, S.J. **2s. 6d.** and **1s. 3d.**

THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF GRACE. By FR. G. H. JOYCE, S.J. **6s.**

"We owe a debt of gratitude to Fr. Joyce for enriching our spiritual literature with this discerning treatise."—THE MONTH.

IN MALLOW. By MRS. WILLIAM O'BRIEN. Cloth, **3s. 6d.** Wrapper, **2s. 6d.**

ST. PAUL: HIS LIFE, WORK, AND SPIRIT. By REV. PHILIP COGHLAN, C.P. **7s. 6d.**

THE LOVE OF THE SACRED HEART. Illustrated by ST. MARGARET MARY ALACOQUE, and the BLESSED JOHN EUDES. **6s.**

MARRIAGE AND MOTHERHOOD. A book for intelligent Wives and Mothers. By ALICE, LADY LOVAT. With a Preface by CARDINAL BOURNE. **6s.**

A SPIRITUAL RETREAT. Veni, Sancte Spiritus. By the REV. FR. ALEXANDER, O.F.M. 8vo. **10s.**

LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS OF TOLENTINO, O.S.A. By Rev. E. A. FORAN, O.S.A. 8vo. Illustrated. **7s. 6d.**

THE MOTHER OF DIVINE GRACE. A Chapter in the Theology of the Immaculate. By REV. STANISLAUS M. HOGAN, O.P. **6s.**

LIFE OF ST. LEONARD OF PORT-MAURICE, O.F.M. (1676-1751). By FR. DOMINIC DEVAS, O.F.M. With 4 Illustrations. **5s.**

All prices are net. Postage extra.

LONDON:

28 Orchard St., W.1. **8-10 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.**

MANCHESTER: 74, Bridge Street.

BIRMINGHAM: 39, John Bright Street.

GLASGOW: 248, Buchanan Street.

New : Talbot : Press

FOUR IRISH LANDSCAPE PAINTERS:
GEORGE BARRETT, B.A.; JAMES ARTHUR O'CONNOR, WALTER FREDERICK OSBORNE, R.H.A.; AND NATHANIEL HONE, R.H.A.
Critical and biographical essays on the principal Irish landscape painters, with bibliography, index, and summary of sale prices. By THOMAS BODKIN, B.L., Director of The National Gallery, Dublin. Illustrated. Small 4to. 21/- net.

Modern Ireland in the Making Series.

Crown 8vo. Cloth boards. 6/- net.

IRISH UNIONISM. By JAMES WINTER GOOD, author of *Ulster in Ireland.*
Mr. Good writes incisively. He leaves no loophole. His arguments are merciless because they are founded on fact.—*Irish Independent.*

THE EVOLUTION OF SINN FEIN. By R. M. HENRY, M.A., Queen's University, Belfast.
Mr. Henry writes with an intimate knowledge of Irish affairs. He is a competent guide through the maze of Irish politics.—*Birmingham Daily Post.*
One of the most valuable and informing accounts of Irish Nationalism that have yet appeared.—*Aberdeen Free Press.*

THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT. By MICHAEL MACDONAGH, author of *Daniel O'Connell, The Irish Tribune,* etc.

THE IRISH LABOUR MOVEMENT. *From the Twenties to our own Day.* By W. P. RYAN.

THE MAKING OF A REPUBLIC. By KEVIN R. O'SHIEL. Crown 8vo. 5/- net.
A Survey of the American struggle for independence and the part that Ireland played in it, in which the author has gathered together much valuable material heretofore inaccessible.

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF IRELAND. By D. A. CHART, M.A. Crown 8vo. 5/- net.
A popular history of the economic conditions under which Ireland has developed.

AN IRISH COMMONWEALTH. By DALTA. Crown 8vo. 6/- net.
A comprehensive survey of the problem of the land in Ireland.

MUNICIPAL GO
Mediæval an
M.A., LL.B. Crow

ST. COLUMBA:
By A. B. OCHILT
JOHN KEATING,

IRELAND AND T
M. FLOOD, author
Ireland: Its
3/6 net.

MAKERS OF IR
Ireland's leaders i
THOMAS CONCANNO

WHEN YOUTH
McDONNELL BODK
of *True Man a*
Fitzgerald etc., et

THE HOUNDS
Stories by DANIEL
etc. Crown 8vo.
It is easily the best w
power and poignancy a
Far and away the b
of Literary Ireland in

THE SWORD OF
Illustrated by PA
an Irish Brigadier.

HER IRISH HE
author of *By Stra*
6/- net. A vivid p
exalted and restles

THE LAND OF W
Translated from th
Weird adventures
Bán. 2/6 net.

CANDLE AND
Dinny of the Doc
Coloured illustratio
Fancy boards. 2/
A beautiful, loving
Irish country life.—*Th*

A complete Catalogue of New and Rec

THE : TALBOT : PRESS : LIMITED

Issues : Autumn, 1920

IN IRELAND:
By JOHN J. WEBB, 5/- net.

ry of His Life.
With Illustrations by 8vo. Cloth. 2/6 net.

CHURCH. By J. *ts Saints and Scholars; ends,* Etc. Illustrated.

RY. Pen pictures of , and Council. By Mrs. ated. 3/6 net.

YOUTH. By M. ew novel by the author *he Rebels, Lord Edward* 7/6 net.

A New Volume of or of *A Munster Twilight,*

rkery has done, for it has nstruction.—*Irish Times.* kind that has come out *Southern Star.*

By JUSTIN MITCHELL. ploits and Adventures of 5/- net.

By A. M. P. SMITHSON, ird Edition. Crown 8vo. reland as it exists to-day, is of Easter, 1916.

By PADRAIC O CONAIRE. by Eamonn O'Neill, B.A. rsun and his sister Máire

. F. PURDON, author of *lk of Furry Farm,* etc. E ELVERY. Foolscap 8vo.

at is best and purest in

The Collected Works of Standish O'Grady.

O'Grady is our best story-teller.—"Æ" (George Russell).

THE COMING OF CUCHULAIN. Crown 8vo. 5/- net.

THE TRIUMPH AND PASSING OF CUCHULAIN. Crown 8vo. 5/- net.

IN THE GATES OF THE NORTH. Crown 8vo. 5/- net.

THE FLIGHT OF THE EAGLE. *A Romance of Red Hugh O'Donnell, Captivity and Escape.* 5/- net.

ULRICK THE READY. *A Graphic Picture of Munster in the Days of Elizabeth.* Crown 8vo. 5/- net.

THE CHAIN OF GOLD. *Modern Adventures on the Coast of Ireland.* Crown 8vo. 5/- net.

LOST ON DU CORRIG: or 'Twixt Earth and Ocean. Further adventures on the Western Coast. Crown 8vo. 5/- net.

Drama.

THE LABOUR LEADER. *A Play in three Acts.* By DANIEL CORKERY. Crown 8vo. 5/- net.

THE YELLOW BITTERN, CLAN FALVEY, and **KING AND HERMIT.** Three Plays. By DANIEL CORKERY. Crown 8vo. 5/- net.

THE WHITE-HEADED BOY. A Comedy in Three Acts. By LENNOX ROBINSON. 3/6 net.

PAGANS. A Modern Play by the late THOMAS MACDONAGH, M.A. Now published for the first time. 1/- net.

THE CASTING VOTE. A humorous Irish Play by GEORGE CROSBIE. 1s. net.

ications may be had from the Publishers.

85 : TALBOT : STREET : DUBLIN
AND ALL BOOKSELLERS

THE CATHOLIC CHARITIES REVIEW

A Monthly Magazine which Discusses the Facts, Problems and Methods of Charity and Related Social Questions . . .

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: FIVE SHILLINGS.

Rev. JOHN A. RYAN, D.D., LL.D., Editor and Manager,
The Catholic University of America,
WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A.

HERDER'S NEW BOOKS.

THE LIFE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST THE SON OF GOD. In Meditations. By the Rev. MAURICE MESCHLER, S.J. With Maps. Third Edition. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1344 Pages. 18s.

"Meschler is a master in ascetical and dogmatic theology, which he expresses with astonishing fertility of thought and illustration."—*The Tablet.*

"There is no better way of knowing the Life of our Lord than by daily meditation upon it, and under Father Meschler's guidance every aspect and every incident of that divine life is exhaustively considered."—*The Ushaw Magazine.*

THE CATHOLIC MANUAL. A Prayer-Book with Instructions, Advice, and Devotions for the Catholic Laity. By the Rev. TILMANN PESCH, S.J. Fourth Edition. 32mo. 698 Pages.

Cloth. Round Corners, Gilt Edges, 4s. 6d. Net. Morocco, Limp, Round Corners, Red under Gold Edges, 7s. Net. Postage 3d.

"Turning it over and reading at random, we are struck every time with its excellence. We could not do better than select this book for the constant companion of every Catholic."—*The Examiner, Bombay.*

THE PASSION AND GLORY OF CHRIST. A Commentary on the Events from the Last Supper to the Ascension. Adapted from the original of Mgr. F. X. POELZ, S.T.D., by the Rev. C. C. MARTINDALE. 8vo. 14s.

"Without question this valuable work should be the property of every priest and ecclesiastical student. To its pages they may turn not only for information of the highest order, but spiritual refreshment and comfort."—*The Homiletic Monthly.*

B. HERDER, PUBLISHER TO THE HOLY APOSTOLIC SEE.

68 GT. RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

HUNTING MEMORIES OF MANY LANDS. By SIR THOMAS H. GRATTAN ESMONDE, Bart. Illustrated with numerous Photographs by the Author. Demy 8vo. 10s. 6d. By post, 11s.

THE INCREASE OF RENT ACT, 1920. By JAMES CREED MEREDITH, Litt.D., K.C., and HECTOR S. J. HUGHES, B.L. Fully annotated. Complete Analysis and Exposition of the Act and Index. Crown 8vo. 6s. By post, 6s. 3d.

RUBY-LAURE: A French Impression of Ireland. By V. DE SAINT-HELME. French Text. Crown 8vo. With Illustrations by Irish Artists. 3s. 6d. By post, 3s 9d.

A most sympathetic attempt to portray the Country as it appears to-day to a visitor.

RUBY-LAURE. Translated into English by MILLICENT A. HARTE. Crown 8vo. With Illustrations by Irish Artists. 3s. 6d. By post, 3s. 9d.

ALEX. THOM & CO., Ltd., Publishers,

CROW STREET, DUBLIN.

A Monthly Magazine Which Should
be in Every Catholic Home

The Catholic World

Established 1865

For over fifty-five years the leader in Catholic Literature

Every Catholic should know the great social and religious problems of reconstruction.

As a Catholic he will be asked by his fellow citizens to answer and to explain. All of us must play our full part in shaping the future.

The Catholic World covers these problems: states the principles that guide in their solution.

Besides articles of the more serious kind, it gives monthly the lighter article: the short story: reviews of the latest books: and a summary of current events. A magazine for both clergy and laity.

40 Cents a Copy, $4.00 a Year

Sample copy sent on request

The Paulist Press

Under the supervision of the Paulist Fathers

PUBLISHERS OF BOOKS
AND PAMPHLETS ON
QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

Catalogue sent on application

120 West 60th Street **New York City**

MAUNSEL'S NEW BOOKS
AND NEW EDITIONS.

SERMONS BY CANON SHEEHAN (Author of "My New Curate," etc.). Edited with a Preface by Rev. M. J. Phelan, S.J. Demy 8vo. 12s. 6d. net.

SERMONS ON OUR LORD.—Preparation for Christmas, Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, On Time—New Year's Day, The Epiphany—Call of Wise Men, Feast of the Holy Name, On the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Passion Sermon—Good Friday, On the Resurrection of Our Lord, The Feast of the Ascension.

SERMONS ON THE BLESSED VIRGIN.—The Woman and Child, The Immaculate Conception, The Maternity of the Blessed Virgin, The Dolours of Mary, The Assumption of Our Lady.

SERMONS ON SAINTS.—The Conversion of Saint Augustine, Feast of Saint Alphonsus Liguori's Centenary, Saint Joseph, A Golden Century.

SERMONS ON MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS.—Charity Sermon, On Death, Hearing the Word of God, "Full of Grace and Truth," On the Mass, The Holy Communion, On Catholic Ceremonial, On Bad Books, On Good Reading, Peter's Pence, State Churches, Anniversary of the Restoration of the Hierarchy (to England).

HOLY ROMANS. The Story of a Young Irishman. A Novel by Aodh de Blacam. Cr. 8vo. 7s. 6d. net.

"From such a distinguished and versatile literary artist as Mr. de Blacam one expected much in his first novel, and it is indeed a pleasure to find that one is far from being disappointed. **Holy Romans** is a remarkably fine book, the work of a cultured and generous mind, with individuality and sincerity stamped upon its every page. . . . Few novels about Ireland succeed so well as **Holy Romans** in maintaining a fine balance of seriousness and entertainment. . . . His book is full of noble and beautiful things, and there are many jewelled moments of romance. His concluding scenes linger affectionately in the memory, for they hold the music of the hope which never dies. . . ."—IRISH INDEPENDENT.

EVENING MEMORIES. By William O'Brien. Being a continuation of RECOLLECTIONS by the same Author. 16s. net.

"The story of one who with all the characteristics of a political gladiator has devoted a long life unselfishly and unremittingly in the pursuit of an ideal is necessarily good reading. . . . For more than a generation the autobiographer has been a protagonist in the history of his country. He was one of the few who were very close to Parnell in the early and greatest strength of the Irish Party. That one of his ability and experience should in the evening of his days and in the maturity of his judgment, himself recount frankly and fully the story of his most daring activities is indeed a valuable contribution to the story of his time. At no point is there reason to question Mr. O'Brien's sense of proportion in regard to his own part in Irish politics. The events which have chiefly impressed his memory and form the scheme of his book were all of consequence."—The Literary Supplement of THE TIMES.

WHEN WE WERE BOYS. By William O'Brien. With a new Introduction dealing with the difficulties of Irish Authors. Paper cover, 2s. net; Cloth, antique paper, 4s. 6d. net.

"This republication will be welcomed by a new generation. . . . Some of the scenes and situations prefigured what we have witnessed during the past three or four years. . . . The reissue ought to meet with equal popularity and success."—IRISH INDEPENDENT.

WHEN THE NORMAN CAME. By Michael O'Hanrahan. 5s. net. Cheap Edition, 2s. net.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE. By Seamus Burke, T.D., B.L. With an Introduction by Darrell Figgis. Cr. 8vo. 6s. net.

"He has dared to think of his own little nation as having a gift of some value to render the world. . . . He has dared to believe that that little nation has even a mission, and to write as believing in that mission."—DARRELL FIGGIS.

THE ECONOMIC CASE FOR IRISH INDEPENDENCE. By Darrell Figgis. 2s. net.

"Mr. Figgis's new book is a companion to his **Historic Case for Irish Independence**, the best condensed Irish history available, and is worthy of its forerunner, for though less comprehensive, it is as powerful a piece of economic pleading as was ever made for Ireland."—IRISH INDEPENDENT.

THE OCCUPATION OF LAND IN IRELAND. By Patrick G. Dardis. 7s. 6d. net.

"An invaluable chapter of Irish history. . . . Mr. Dardis's work merits detailed consideration."—IRISH NEWS.

MAUNSEL & CO., LIMITED,
50 LOWER BAGGOT STREET, DUBLIN.
40 MUSEUM STREET, LONDON.

Showrooms: 3 Lincoln Place, Westland Row Dublin.

Collapsible Hoods fitted to our Tub or Tonneau Cars.

See Our New All-Weather Tonneau Car.

Gold Medal for Cars at Franco-British Exhibition.

Catalogue from Works: Edenderry, King's Co.

Alesbury Bros., Car Builders.

Timber, Iron & Concrete Buildings

—FOR—

CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, HALLS, READING ROOMS, TECHNICAL INSTITUTES, BUNGALOWS, HOSPITALS, SANATORIA. :: :: ::

HOME OR EXPORT.

HUMPHREYS, LIMITED,

10 STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN.

Designs and Estimates Submitted. Works: MERRION.

Numerous Testimonials from Clergy and Convents.

Established 1834. 'Phone 1653.

Are WE - - Your - - - Photographers ?

Specimens and Quotations free.

Keogh BROS LTD

75 LR. DORSET STREET and 124 STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN.

(Next College of Surgeons.)

VOL. IX. No. 36.

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

OF

Letters Philosophy & Science

DECEMBER. 1920.

CONTENTS.

			PAGE
I.	ON PROGRESS	*Hilaire Belloc*	497
II.	TERENCE MACSWINEY: LORD MAYOR OF CORK ...	*Daniel Corkery*	512
III.	RECENT IRISH NOVELS	*Katharine Tynan*	521
IV.	PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE ...	*Edmond Power*	534
V.	BRITISH LABOUR AND IRISH NEEDS	*James Winder Good*	551
VI.	POETRY—DEIRDRE	*Arthur Little*	561
	CONCERNING SONG	*Egbert Sandford*	561
	TO MARGARET S., AGED ONE	... *J. W. A.*	562
	FLOS MARTYRUM	*George Noble Plunkett*	563
	ANNAMOE	*Pamela Tynan Hinkson*	564
VII.	UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS—No. 12	*Osborn Bergin*	565
VIII.	S. THOMAS AND PROPERTY	... *J. B. McLaughlin*	571
IX.	THE LAW OF NATIONS	*Alfred O'Rahilly*	579
X.	STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS IN GERMANY	*S. von Dunin-Borkowski*	597
XI.	CHRONICLE—I. THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION ...	*James J. Walsh*	608
	II. IMPRESSIONS OF ZURICH	*Mary Curran*	613

XII. REVIEWS OF BOOKS:

The Venerable Anne Madeleine Remuzat, p. 620.—St. Patrick: His Writings and Life, p. 622.—St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy of Armagh, p. 622.—The Labour Leader, p. 624.—The Yellow Bittern and other Plays, p. 624.—The Fire-Bringers, p. 625.—Outlines of the Industrial History of Ireland, p. 627.—An Economic History of Ireland, p. 627.—The Occupation of Land in Ireland in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, p. 627.—La Fortune de l'Irlande, p. 627.—Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century, p. 631.—Empire and Commerce in Africa, p. 632.—The Black Man's Burden, p. 632.—Morceaux choisis des auteurs français du Xe au XXe siècle, p. 633.—The Teaching of History, p. 634.—The Year Book of Modern Languages, p. 635.—The Captives, p. 635.—L'Arc-en-Ciel, p. 636.—The Hidden Chalice, p. 637.—Mr. Coleman, Gent., p. 637.—Irish Unionism, p. 639.—Erasmus and Luther, p. 640.—A History of the Diocese of Raphoe, p. 642.—A Study in Realism, p. 644.—Lehrbuch der Experimentellen Psychologie, p. 646.—An Introductory Course of Experimental Psychology, p. 647.—Rousseau and Romanticism, p. 648.—Zum Goethe-Problem, p. 652.—Some Winchester Letters of Lionel Johnson, p. 653.—Scientific Management in the Home, p. 654.

☞ STUDIES is published in the months of March, June, September and December.

The price of single Copies is Half-a-Crown net. (Foreign Countries, 3s. net.)

The yearly subscription is Ten Shillings, post free. (Foreign Countries, 12s., post free; U.S.A. and Canada, $3.00 post free.)

The Editorial Offices of STUDIES are at No. 35 Lower Leeson Street, Dublin.

periods they could study this was the period in which *reasoning* for its own sake was most despised and neglected, and in which men were most subject to mere *moods;* most affirmative of things which they *wished* to believe but could not prove.

I have in the last few months had occasion to read—not for my own pleasure—a number of works which are singularly illustrative of this. I have just completed, for instance, a few pages by a Protestant essayist, Dean Inge—his Romanes Lecture on "The Idea of Progress." I have amused myself with Mr. Wells's History of the World, and I have even dipped into Dr. Bury's rather confused and lengthy essay on Dr. Inge's theme. They are but three typical moderns of the sort that reject the Faith. There is a mass of literature of the same sort, all of it soaked in the idea of "Progress,"—the most of it—till quite recently—accepting "Progress"; some few, the more recent, despairing of it though clearly *having* accepted it. But in all you have one character: the contempt of Reason.

It appears, for instance, in the form of irritation: the belittling sneers at exact logic, which is called "Mathematical" and "Narrow." It appears in the inability to study that fundamental science underlying all their sciences, which is Theology.

The same dislike of reason appears in other moderns: it appears in their sundry excursions into mere nonsense, as with those men who deny the simpler arithmetical truths. It appears in a thousand phrases proper to fools, as, for instance, that "character is more important than intelligence"—which is either an obvious truism not worth making or (and this is the underlying sense in which it is nearly always used) a jeer at intelligence and an innuendo that intelligence usually connotes evil qualities in a man and particularly weakness.

We see the same thing in the social indifference of a whole society to the triumphs of Reason. The society

of which I speak has for its great merchants an immense regard, especially if they have accumulated their fortunes rapidly and without any element of production or even of talent, by mere speculation. It has some regard for artistic power, though not much. For the Masters of the Human Reason it has no regard at all. The frame of mind which made Albert the Great, say, or Suarez, or the great mathematicians, into heroes is something it can no longer understand.

But the best example of the lapse is the way in which this same idea of Progress is treated; for our moderns adopt towards the idea of Progress two very simple attitudes which are merely moods: attitudes from which reasoning is excluded.

When the human reason proceeds upon an abstract matter it works of necessity by pure deduction. When it deals with a concrete problem it must perpetually compare its results with evidence. The action of the mind is still deductive, because mind is of its nature incapable of any other process. But our deductions will be false unless we perpetually compare them with evidence, because we are, in concrete matters, perpetually deducting from general principles insufficiently extended.

For instance: one has for a first principle the truth that the tide coming in from the Atlantic runs up the English Channel at the flood and down it at the ebb. Using our reason unsupported by evidence we might conclude that the moment of high tide marks everywhere in the Channel the moment of turning from the eastward to the westward stream. But were we to use that conclusion in sailing, say, inside the Owers Light we should be wrong. The westward stream begins there not at high tide but three hours after. That is because there are many other general principles at work, besides that of the main direction of the channel tide; unless we know them *all* our deduction must necessarily be imperfect. Therefore it must be corrected by evidence.

Now this matter of Progress, even if we use our reason so far as to get a clear idea of it (which is much more than the men I am criticising have done), is still a concrete problem, for it is an historical problem.

(1) I postulate a certain good. (2) I deduce from certain general historical first principles that this good has been regularly approached (or receded from) throughout history; but (3) I must test this conclusion by the actual evidence, otherwise I cannot be certain of it in such a concrete matter.

Even those, I say (of the men I am criticising), who get so far as the first step never give us a clear *processus* from the first to the second, and do not seem to concern themselves at all with the third. So far as I can gather from their writings, which are numerous and diverse, they are content with a mere comfortable mood of thinking that things they like are coming along, or in the uncomfortable mood of thinking that these things are getting further off—and there they stop: save that to this mere mood they add—without proof—affirmation.

But they do not as a rule even define what is for them the conception of Progress, still less discover why Progress should or should not appear *a priori*, and never by any chance do they test whether it has or has not appeared.

The great Epicureans who were the founders of a belief in Progress defined their position well enough, for the men of pagan antiquity used their reason. Roughly the argument was this:—Man desires certain conditions because in them he is happy. He therefore applies his knowledge towards reaching those conditions. But human experience coupled with memory and record naturally increases the sum of knowledge, and therefore of its application towards such conditions. Hence, normally, man enjoys progress. There is a perfectly simple and rational *a priori* proposition. Having established it we proceed to verification by experiment.

Thus we prove *a priori* that any instrument will *tend*

to be perfected through experience. We find, on looking at the history of most instruments, that they do go through a phase at least of such progress, that is, through a phase in which they become by successive steps more subservient to the needs of man and therefore presumably adding to his happiness, which is the end of man.

But the great Epicureans also discovered (as must any rational beings who use their reason) that there was a counter set of principles. Things are not only discovered: they are also forgotten. Time which adds also takes away.

Thus if you turn to the memories of the race, whether recorded or traditional, you find evidence upon both sides: you find, for instance, the traditional note throughout pretty well all human histories that some good of very high importance appeared at a particular time; of a time when it was not, and then of a time when it was: a progress. Thus you have the Greek or the Chinese traditions of the invention of the alphabet, and still vaguer traditions of the mastery over fire, and of great heroes and demi-gods who teach men the various arts. On the other hand you have the still stronger human tradition everywhere of a Fall, of some greater happiness lost, and of a Golden Age enjoyed in the past, and never recovered.

If you turn from tradition to record you have the same thing. You can see with your own eyes better methods succeeding inferior ones; larger buildings (for what scale may be worth) succeeding smaller ones; greater accumulation of wealth (for what that may be worth) succeeding lesser; greater knowledge of distant countries (for what that may be worth) succeeding less—and so on.

You can also find evidence of the exact opposite: periods when the scale dwindles, when knowledge diminishes and when apparently things necessary to the most ordinary happiness, such as security, are on the down grade.

Now a rational man balances evidence. Two reasonable men will come to two different conclusions, the one giving more weight to one piece of evidence, the other to another. But at any rate reason will use all the evidence it has to hand.

But an irrational society such as that of our moderns does nothing of the kind. It presupposes what it desires or believes, affirms it, and passes on. It does not even define, still less proceed through definition to an *a priori* deduction, and least of all test the thing by evidence.

Let me take a small particular instance.

When I went to the University of Oxford nearly thirty years ago, the teachers there regarded the existing political condition of England as admirable. They never proposed anything more admirable. That was a very natural point of view in comfortable people concerned solely with this world and having pretty well all this world could give them. The then political constitution of England was part of that world only, but it was one of the formative causes of it, and therefore was regarded with final and conclusive affection. So far so good. But observe the effect of this very natural affection or mood when used independently as a basis for affirmation without reference to the reason.

These worthies presented the whole of English history to their pupils as one process of Progress, *which process was continuing*. Now this attitude was a sheer negation of reason.

It is quite clear that if you are speaking of a particular political moment everything anterior to that moment has led up to it, and that if such a moment be indeed the fulfilment of human desire, then Progress can be affirmed. But then almost necessarily you would have the counter-proposition that reaction would immediately follow, and that Progress having lasted in this happy island up to, say, the year 1892, regress (I suppose that is the converse term) would begin in 1893 and might con-

tinue descending (on the analogy of a wave) as long as Progress had taken to rise. For it is evident that if everything in English history gradually led up to perfection in 1892 you could not go further, because perfection is the end of the road.

But no such unpleasant rational conclusion was faced. Indeed no such use of the human reason was attempted. The Dons were content to tell one that George the Third was "luckily" prevented from strengthening the Crown, that Walpole's domination over the wretched First George was a "happy accident"—because it produced the Prime Ministry! And this spirit was carried on into every detail of history. Everything which made for the exact stage of Constitutional History reached in 1892 was a step forward—and that was all they cared to consider.

I have only given this as an example, but I think it is a very good example of one of the two great branches into which the superstition of Progress is divided.

Let me take the other example, also dating from my youth and vividly remembered.

A certain railway company got rid of its second classes in order to make more money. It was left with only first classes and third classes. Thereupon Mr. Gladstone wrote to a correspondent one of his famous post-cards, and on this post-card he spoke of the step as one of "enlightenment and progress"! Startling? Yes, but not, as you might imagine, quite meaningless. One can discover with a little thought what was at the back of the old man's mind. As he wrote he regarded (or pretended to regard) the destruction of hierarchy in society as a good thing. The abolition of a second class meant that there was no opportunity for those who thought themselves better than the run of men and yet had not the wealth to enjoy luxury, to mark themselves apart between the rich and the poor. And as this was an approach (though but a small and comic one) to the aforesaid ideal, it suggested to him the word "progress".

Here in this concrete example you have a case of the second sort of superstition of "Progress," a much more tenable religion than the first, though equally false. It does not reside in the conception that your comfortable feelings of the moment represent perfection, and that therefore everything has led up to them in a necessarily progressive fashion. But it postulates an unreached ideal of good to which it firmly believes the world around to be moving. We are now, I think, in a position to make definitions.

There is not one superstition or religion of "Progress" (as applied to temporal affairs), but two quite distinct ones.

The first religion postulates the present as a realised ideal, and therefore necessarily regards all the steps of the past as a series of approaches to the best. For the past can never be like the perfect present, and being unlike the present must by definition be worse than the present. And since the past leads up to the present by successive steps, and since the present is a realised ideal, therefore there has been perpetual progression from the worse to the better.

The second Religion frames an ideal of temporal good. It recognises that this ideal is not yet fulfilled. But it is more comfortable to believe that it will be fulfilled, because in that case the remainder of one's own life will probably be led in happier circumstances, or at any rate one can contemplate a pleasanter future as a whole for one's fellow-beings. Transmute this comfortable hope into a doctrine and you necessarily also have Progress, that is, advance from conditions which you regard as worse towards conditions which you regard as better.

It is obvious that the votaries of either of these two religions have not been at the pains of thinking clearly—I might almost say of thinking at all. The first is such manifest nonsense, such a clear yielding to illusion that its votaries are ashamed of its definition when it is put before them. Indeed, that definition, though it is exact, reads

grotesque—as should any false religion properly set forth. If it were true that the sense of well-being which is concomitant with any healthy life and particularly with the transient satisfaction enjoyed by the small wealthy class of a plutocratic community were a realised ideal to which all the past had led up, then there would be an indefinite number of such realised ideals, and almost any moment during which the wealthy class felt comfortable would be the summit of Progress, so that at any moment Progress would be going on and also not going on, but its reverse going on : which is absurd.

This form of the superstition is manifestly and demonstrably nonsense. It is the deliberate acceptation of an illusion by men who are more comfortable for cherishing that illusion.

The second religion of Progress, the second form of the superstition, is more respectable. It is the reflection, I suppose, of a doctrine rooted in true religion and accepted by all who have true religion. This doctrine is the doctrine that a certain ideal happiness awaits man and can be reached, and is normally reached by successive steps, that any life a man is actually leading is less happy and less perfect than that to which he can and should attain ; the conclusion of the affair being final and perfect happiness as the end of man, which is the Vision of God.

I fancy that a reflection of this is apparent in the second form of this false religion of temporal Progress, and at any rate this false religion of temporal Progress stands the test, as does not the first, of a preliminary reasonable examination.

It is a conceivable idea that a particular ideal being stated, human history might be shown to tend towards that ideal. It is a conceivable idea that this ideal being stated and defined one might discover a curve in history clearly tending (though perhaps only as an asymptote) towards that ideal.

The exposure of this false form of religion does not

lie in a discovery of its innate absurdity, for it is not innately absurd, but in the discovery of the fact that it does not correspond to any known state of affairs. We have here a parallel to many another false modern conception. To make any such theory of Progress fit in with facts we have to distort the facts, that is to arrange them in an unnatural and unreasonable manner, to omit what is inconvenient, to emphasise unduly what suits our object, and that, as we all know, is one of the prime characteristics of our irrational opponents.

You get it, for instance, in the enormous but futile labours of Frazer in his "Golden Bough". In Frazer's "Golden Bough" the obvious fallacy in reasoning (which in a rational age any adolescent student could have pointed out to him) is the artificial arrangement of facts. And you have to have the same sort of artificial arrangement of facts to get your "Progress" working through history.

This fallacious method is the following. You want, for instance, to prove that the presence of negro blood in a race or an individual makes for superiority in political or commercial power. You collect an enormous number of facts with regard to the presence of negro blood in races and individuals. You tabulate all that can be discovered of the importation of negroes into Southern Portugal at the end of the Middle Ages, and later into North America and Brazil, with a hundred other examples. You further tabulate a vast quantity of cases where the imported blood was certainly coloured and may have been negroid, for instance the Numidian blood in North Africa, the racial admixtures from the South in ancient Egypt, and so on. You suggest (without proof) that it was negroid. You further tabulate, side by side, with your known facts and your presumed facts, another vast quantity of facts of little or no value, ranging from chance phrases dropped by travellers to pure guess-work of your own.

Having done all this you take the enormous heap, segregate all that makes for your theory and leave out all that militates against it. Next you take the segregated portion which makes for your theory and arrange it in a cumulative order of your own so that there appears an increasingly convincing convergence of evidence which at last triumphantly establishes your thesis.

That modern method (I have taken Frazer's "Golden Bough" as the clearest example, but there are dozens of others) is one of which any one in a rational age would at once discover the fallacy. If the man with the bee in his bonnet about negroes approached an audience ignorant of general history, he could easily make out a case. You have Egypt, the earliest of the civilisations. You have the brilliant court of Cherchel in the first century B.C. You have the brief splendour of Portugal. You have the undoubted economic rise of the United States. You have the development and establishment of Brazil from nothingness into a considerable economic unit. And so on. You have also—which is rather heavily against you—the actual condition for untold centuries of tropical Africa; but you leave that out. Having thus arranged your evidence you can, I say, convince any irrational person too blunt to discover the trick.

Now in the same way this second form of the thesis of Progress can be treated. For instance, you postulate as your ideal the control of man over material objects—roughly, the progress of physical science and machinery. You show the undoubted truth that in the last few generations there has been a vast increase in this field. You pick out instances of advance in the past, leaving out the reactions, omitting to emphasise the length and power of those reactions; you say nothing of civilisations completely wiped out like that of Mesopotamia, or hopelessly decayed like that of Egypt, or arrested like that of China. You present—what is undoubtedly sound evidence though very imperfect—the relics of prehistoric work, and show

it to be rudimentary compared with modern work. You omit the fact that in many things even prehistoric work shows ability in a particular direction which centuries upon centuries of later recorded history do not excel or even reach, and you establish your case.

But if, instead of going to work in this way like an advocate with a brief in hand, instead of conceiving that you *had* to prove a particular point and that your duty was to wrest all evidence towards its proof, you had duly considered all the evidence like a judge and balanced and weighed it, then it is manifest from universal history that *you cannot define any ideal of a temporal kind, however limited or however base, towards which there has been an ascending curve of progress.*

I know that this sounds an exceedingly bold thing to say and will appear to many fantastic, but I think that it is true and I think that the generation in which we live is beginning to see its truth.

For instance, if you consider the excellence of communication as measured by (*a*) rapidity (*b*) the bulk or numbers transported from point to point in a given time, and if you strike the curve established by known record you get something like this. First, a flat line stretching out indefinitely backwards into recorded history and representing the normal march of men on foot or horseback and the sailing routes of antiquity. Then before the consolidation of the Roman Empire the curve begins to rise slowly. You get a special cusp under the Assyrian postal system. Then a fall. Then it rises rather rapidly under the high organisation of the Roman Empire. You get a clear summit round about the last generation of the third century, then you get a decline—so far as our civilisation in Europe is concerned. The decline goes on steadily for centuries. *It falls far below the level of the old flat line with which you began.* Then with the later Middle Ages you begin to get a slow rise again. It gets slightly steeper, but only very slightly in the 17th

and 18th centuries; in the 19th it takes a sudden bound far above the level of anything before known.

Such a curve has not (to use a mathematical test) a fixed equation. It is haphazard. You have no guarantee that if you were to continue it for a thousand years you would not get another long descent or series of descents and rises or further rises. In a word it has no ascending function. To be accurate, it has no function at all. You cannot give a formula for that curve.

I have taken in this matter of communications an example especially favourable to my opponent, for the last modern 19th century section of the grossly irregular thing has been on such an enormously steep incline that it lends itself specially to fallacious reasoning. But if we take another example less favourable to our opponents the truth is far more striking.

Supposing one should take a curve, for instance, of a thing not of its nature measurable—the curve of excellence in statuary: giving so many points for beauty and so many points for vivid realism, so many for technique, and so forth. And supposing one were to strike that curve over the most of known civilisation in the West, including Egypt and Assyria. What would one get? Something like this, I think. A dotted line slowly rising at the beginning and expressing the unknown process of unknown length and character whereby Egyptian and Assyrian sculpture arose. This rise would lead one to a considerable summit. Then after some decline you would get a rather steeper summit in the ages immediately preceding the consolidation of the Roman Empire. From that summit a fairly steep decline (much below the level of the original dotted line) to the ages of Constantine, and then a perfect precipice of decline to say the 6th century, after which your line would crawl along near the bottom of the paper for hundreds of years.

There would be a sudden steep rise beginning at the end of the 12th century, a rising but nearly flat line to

the end of the Middle Ages, a very steep rise to an exalted summit at the Renaissance, and after that I know not what confused rise and fall, now dragged down by the monstrosities and exaggerations of the 17th century, now in the 18th lifted up by a singular exception such as Houdon, or in the 19th century Rude. The curve would leave off in modern times on a declining slope well below the levels of antiquity.

Here, again, you have no equation, no formula, no definable function, no curve an analysis of which gives an average rising trajectory. But communications on the one hand (a material and highly measurable example) and statuary on the other (a not measurable one) I take only as extremes. Combine any number of these curves taken from the innumerable factors which make up social well-being as we understand it. In none of them do you get the definable function, the regular equation, the progressive formula required.

Take some factor which undoubtedly makes for temporal happiness, as for instance house room for the masses, and you find exactly the same thing: a curve capricious in a degree. Take a dozen others, food supply, leisure, instruction, health, longevity. You find one factor high when another is low: the lines crossing and recrossing promiscuously. The more general your record the less your capacity to assert an average of constant, regular or even combined progression.

If you take another form of test, the expression of man, the way in which his songs and ornaments betray his happiness or unhappiness in a particular period. That is a good test, and it leads you to exactly the same conclusion in another and perhaps more convincing fashion. The curve drawn along the evidence for that test would give you a modern depression almost as deep as is the converse modern rise in material instrumental power.

I concluded then that even this conception of Progress in temporal affairs does not fit the evidence, and that

only by a distortion of the evidence through false historical perspective or through deliberate suppression can the main superstition of Progress be maintained.

There is yet another argument with which we are not so familiar, and that argument is drawn from the object to which all predication of purely material Progress must revert. This object is the human body. If you take strict evidence and actual record, excluding guess-work from insignificant fragments, you find man to be, within all recorded time, what man is to-day. Nothing has happened of so regular a sort as to have raised or lowered the main object of the whole enquiry.

The truth is that this superstition of Progress was bred of conditions peculiar to the few generations in which it arose and which it partially misled. These conditions are (1) the restriction of speculation to a few, (2) the decay of religion forcing men back on to a temporal hope which they turned into a belief, (3) the neglect of philosophy and the corresponding exaggeration of the physical sciences, and (4) the effect of wealth and comfort in the small class which (in the decay of religion) monopolised speculation.

We cannot foretell the future; but the probabilities are that the coming generations (where they are infidel) will suffer a converse superstition, the reaction from that which misled their fathers and grandfathers. It looks as though men without the Faith were now beginning to dread the future rather than to put a terrestrial paradise therein. It looks as though they were beginning to regret the past and even clumsily to re-establish what is dead in the hope that the past may save them. In other words it looks as though the false hope of an age without faith, a false hope erected into doctrine, might be succeeded by an equally false despair, also erected into doctrine. And the consequences of such a mood, when it shall arise, will be formidable indeed.

H. Belloc.

TERENCE MacSWINEY: LORD MAYOR OF CORK.

Born on March 28, 1879.—Arrested and began hunger-strike on August 12—Died in Brixton Prison on October 25, 1920.

BY DANIEL CORKERY.

I HAVE but a few simple things to say of Terence MacSwiney. In this sore-tried corner of the earth and in stricken corners elsewhere there must be other young men built of the same earnest clay, who, already knowing him on the heroic side, will wish in the impulsive way of healthy human kindliness to have some hint of him as we in Cork in our great privilege knew him—comrade and friend. To such I speak.

Almost two months before his agony had spent itself "Æ" wrote nobly of him in *The Times*, hoping (as he himself has since declared) to stir the conscience of the English people—hoping in vain :—

BRIXTON PRISON

August 31, 1920.

See, though the oil be low, more purely still and higher
The flame burns in the body's lamp ! The watchers still
Gaze with unseeing eyes while the Promethean will,
The Uncreated Light, the Everlasting Fire,
Sustains itself against the torturers' desire
Even as the fabled Titan chained upon the hill.
Burn on, shine here, thou immortality, until
We too have lit our lamps at the funereal pyre :
Till we too can be noble, unshakable, undismayed :
Till we too can burn with the holy flame, and know
There is that within us can triumph over pain,
And go to death, alone, slowly and unafraid.
The candles of God are already burning row on row—
Farewell, Lightbringer, fly to thy heaven again.

When I read these lines I felt in me a strong desire to write the poet telling him, on the word of one who knew him, that Terence MacSwiney was fully worthy of them,

telling him especially that he was as great in the hundred and one disconcerting, scrutinising surprises of the every-day, which take a man unaware, as he was when the last scene of all was dressed and he had stepped upon the stage in the eyes of the world ; and this I should certainly have done had the poet been an unknown wayside singer and not one who was bound to meet with many who could make him better aware of our Lord Mayor's greatness by word of mouth than I could in a formal letter. Let England be as callous as a vicious war could leave it, yet this man has not lain there in his death agony of seventy-three days without at least disturbing it : and other lands than England, which are free to express themselves, have spoken of a breath of renovation passing across the seas from that cell in Brixton jail, have spoken of a new revelation. Yet all the time we in Cork have been walking in a sort of aloof silence that denies the revelation : to us there certainly has been no revelation ; the flower has opened in all its bright and pure beauty, but only as the bud promised ; the music has clashed out its finale—and ceased, but that exulting finale was inherent in the motif —as indeed also was the tragic silence that closed it. We had seen others of our fellow-countrymen go nobly to their death — Pearse, Casement, many others ; we thought occasionally of forerunners of theirs that died in this and other lands ; in literature there was " Brand " for our kenning—well, long before the world had heard of him we had put Terence MacSwiney, while still living out his days within the confines of a little provincial city, alongside the great ones of history and literature. Of late years we never had any doubts that he would die tragically, nor that the end would crown his life.

II.

Any great movement towards a spiritual end, such as Ireland's present push for freedom, obviously endows itself with creative power, as if otherwise it could not

progress : it takes the most diverse types and unifies them, as all who to-day walk the streets of Ireland must openly acknowledge. The explanation is that in such movements men like Terence MacSwiney act out the desires of their souls, express those desires in living matter, the dearest that is, flesh and blood. Such men we speak of as master-spirits, master minds, outstanding figures, commanding personalities—all good words, if none be quite the right word.

But this, the outstanding aspect of Terence MacSwiney, is not that on which I would dwell ; and yet how to give the sense of that homelier, more intimate human being that was in him as in all others, I do not know. Who can impart the full sense we have of a lyric that little by little has become one with us, or the sense of a countryside in which we lived when young? The features of the countryside, the cold words of the lyric, will not do so. We can but try.

Pearse has a noble poem, written out of his very being : " Why will ye torture me, desires of my heart ? " More obviously than Pearse, MacSwiney's desires tortured him, hunted him, as the poem has it, like a poor deer on the hill. That was what the eager, wistful leanness of his face meant, the spiritual hunger in it, the brooding shadow. That was what the headlong rush through the streets meant. One felt it too in his swift, onward-rushing penmanship, in the swift run of his speech. His verses, his plays, the propaganda he wrote—all are full of it. . . . He was right, he knew it ; he had the key of things ; there were waverers everywhere, but they could be gathered in, straightened up and set marching—they could be even taught how to die.

No one ever saw him dawdle. He never made holiday, if the mass of men know how to make holiday. If he did sit still, and he could sit still for hours, it only meant that the chase was harder than before. It was the sitting still rather than the rushing from place to place that left him

so lean of aspect. A cigarette looked strange in his mouth. I do not think he ever carried cigarettes of his own, but of a social evening he would with the rest accept of one. If in a farmhouse in Iveleary we caught him dancing the *rinnce fada* with great boyishness, laughing with entire guilelessness, we knew well he did so not to discomfort the others. Of his own he had no amusements, no hobbies. Yet no one ever heard him reprove another for giving his leisure to hurling or fishing or hunting: they could do so and yet fulfil their duties. He often looked on while I made a sketch among the mountains of West Cork—looked on as if he were assisting at some holy rite, taking my hobby with a disconcerting seriousness.

Of the technique of painting, as of that of music, he knew little or nothing; but he loved both with a passion almost as great as his passion for literature. His culture, which was wide and deep, did not explain it: the truth is that every manifestation of beauty—a child's face, a cloud, an old garden—thrilled him with delight. I recall a wild day that we both found ourselves looking at the swollen river rushing and foaming under the narrow arches of South Gate bridge in Cork, how he spoke of water as being in all its aspects one of the marvels of the world. He lived then at Blackrock, a few miles down the river, where the river is widest and noblest; and he often spoke to me of the joy it was to be near the wide waters after the rush of the day.

Music with him was, I think, the supreme art: he would listen to it with reverential awe; but literature was the one art he practised. At that time he thought that his life's work was to write books—for Ireland; and, once he had taken his degree, he threw himself into the work with great zest. His preparation for the writing of drama was very characteristic of his earnest spirit. He began by reading, re-reading in some cases, all the standard works of criticism he could lay hands on. The only copy of Aristotle's *Poetics* I ever read I had on loan from him.

Lessing's *Laocoon* he also read ; modern criticism as well, and of course he kept fully in touch with the literature of the Irish renaissance. Shaw's dramatic technique he admired very much, but Shaw's philosophy we never discussed—it was so far apart from Irish life. He also read Molière and the other French classics ; and both Shaw's technique, as in the matter of stage-directions, and that of the French, as in the unfamiliar use of the word " scene " to denote a change in the number of characters on the stage, left their traces on his work, most noticeably so in the one play he published, *The Revolutionist.* Ibsen and Macterlinck he also read. The *Mary Magdalen* I read was his. Of Molière and Ibsen he had full sets—very fine editions. Synge he did not like ; but then Synge's outlook on life and his own were frankly opposite.

Shelley, I think, was his favourite poet. He spoke of " I arise from dreams of thee " with delight ; and Shelley's influence is in all his verse. Rossetti he also came to admire very much. He once quoted a sonnet of his to me in Ballingeary, and finding I did not know it, he put into my hands the next day a little " terra-cotta " notebook into which he had copied a full hundred of the best sonnets in English, including many of Rossetti's. I find myself now wondering where that little book is.

I speak of his reading in pure literature. Of all the books written on Irish history, more especially of those about the modern periods, the Wolfe Tone period, the Fenian period, he had an intimate knowledge. Wolfe Tone he loved as a living man.

And all the time he was studying Irish. It is many years since we ceased to speak English to each other ; and as soon as his wife had learned it, it became the language of his home : woe betide the person that would speak any other language to their little child.

III.

He practised literature for the sake of Ireland—never to become famous or to make money. One idea had him

constantly in its grip—the freedom of Ireland; and with him freedom meant just freedom and nothing else: he was always a Separatist.

None of us of the Cork Dramatic Society of those days—now ten years ago—were ardent politicians; but we knew that Terry, as we always called him, used to attend the meetings of the few old Fenians that were left in the city. We would occasionally argue on the question of physical force as practical politics, but his standpoint was that to hand on the *idea* of Separation was very practical politics; and at that time I fancy he never dreamt that he could do anything beyond assisting in the propagation of the mere idea.

Of the Gaelic League we were all members—some of us in one branch, some in another: it was the biggest thing in our lives; and indeed it was the Gaelic League, although a strictly non-political body, rather than the remaining tradition of Fenianism that accounts for Ireland being so overwhelmingly committed to Republicanism to-day. This it brought about unwittingly. It trained up a body of young men as free from the passion of party politics as they were alive to the sense of the continuity of the Irish tradition, the continuity of the Irish struggle, Ireland against England. The moment Pearse began to speak of Liberty it was the Gaelic Leaguers that gathered to him. The moment the Volunteers were set up—first as a counter-blast to the Carson Volunteers—it was the Gaelic Leaguers that took the movement in hand. To the day of his death, in season and out of season, Terence MacSwiney preached the Gaelic League idea. There was another body in which at this time he played even a bigger part—the Celtic Literary Society. It conducted a manuscript journal, and I fancy that he had often to write practically the whole of it.

Those four societies, in those pre-war days, took up all his leisure—the Celtic Literary Society, the Gaelic League, the Fenian body, and the Cork Dramatic Society. The rehearsals of the last he attended constantly for the purpose of getting a knowledge of stagecraft. It produced

four of his plays, of which one could say much if there were space.

IV.

Sir Edward Carson doing more than a man's work in the matter, it came about that at the opening of the War the young men of Ireland were drilling on the hills with real guns in their hands and real ammunition in their knapsacks. Think what it meant to MacSwiney! He that was content to give his whole life to merely dreaming that such would one day come to pass—even after he was dead! In his published play, *The Revolutionist*, the central figure does not get beyond *preaching* revolution; but here was something very like revolution itself actually in being. I am not in a position to follow him, to tell the whole story, but I can realise what it meant to him. He had always been an optimist: now he was exultant. If he had always rushed from place to place, now he flew. The city, then the county Cork, was his province; he would push his bicycle twenty, thirty, forty miles against a windy rain to speak brave words to some little hamlet or other hidden in the hills. Then there were frequent journeys to and from Dublin. And all the time he was writing—the noblest propaganda that perhaps ever was written.

He set up a paper of his own, *Fianna Fail*, and kept it going for nine months. Then he had to foot the bill; and the only thing of value he had to sell was his library—his complete sets. Among ourselves we spoke of what that must have meant to him; but in himself, in his look, his words, we never saw a sign: the great work was going ahead like wildfire—that was all he cared. Then, as ever, he was radiantly optimistic.

His constant companion in these activities of his in spreading the Volunteers was Thomas MacCurtain, his predecessor in the mayoralty of Cork, who was murdered in his own house—*not* by Sinn Feiners—in March, 1920.

They were exactly opposite in type—Terence MacSwiney being an intellectual for good and harm ; his friend being a man of shrewd, homely wit, high-spirited, and gifted with any amount of brain, having moreover an insight into men and affairs that astonished all who came into contact with him. Exactly opposites, they yet worked most happily in harness; and, except Thomas MacCurtain, I have never heard of anyone else who had the least influence over Terence MacSwiney, who could get him to reconsider a decision or postpone its execution. To think of Terence MacSwiney is to feel one's soul rising up in admiration ; to think of Thomas MacCurtain is to feel one's heart expanding with love.

Then came the Rising, and, from that on, frequent jailings for him. At the time of his marriage he was in enforced exile in England ; when his child was born he was a prisoner in Belfast jail.

Out of jail, the rushing from place to place was resumed, only at an ever-increasing pace. He seldom dared to sleep at home. Once he did : in the dead of the night he had to rise and escape through the back garden while the military were coming in at the front. He slept at one end of the city one night, at another end the next night, seldom three nights running in the one house—an exhausting life. Then he steps into the place of his murdered friend, Thomas MacCurtain, becomes Lord Mayor of Cork, adding burden to burden ; and the world knows the rest.

v.

Only a few things remain to be said. " He would rise at six, but he could have done the business equally well if he rose at eight." He who says this of him had often to keep pace with him on the long roads. Yes, he was too anxious, would burn himself away, and all others about him. He was a " Brand." He had only small respect for tact, which is the homely word for diplomacy. " He

treated us all like small boys," one who was just as long in the movement as himself says of him. But he had also patience and forbearance, and was instinct with reverence and chivalry and forgiveness. Without a touch of pietism or of puritanism, he was deeply religious.

He would treat the others like small boys, and would call them at six, yet could still maintain his place among them—because he took far greater toll of himself than of any others, gave more than he asked, was entirely selfless. It is only a poor type of soldier that will not follow such a leader to the end. He was an idealist. His view of life, as expressed in all his writings, was that life could be heightened, on and on, for evermore. Now no one ever knew a genuine idealist who was not housed in a body all sensibility and fineness—made of a rare clay : from which thought we may learn that the martyrs who delivered their bodies to be burned delivered such bodies as would of themselves shrink from the least touch of a taper. Lips of a more sensitive mould than Terence MacSwiney's lips I have never laid eyes on. We have as yet but roughly, very roughly, estimated his martyrdom. We will never know it. Yet those who went to see him lying on his bed of torture came home to us dazzled at the constant activity of his mind, at the serenity of his spirit. In those long hours that he lay there on his death-bed, what thoughts must have come to him, what places must have flashed on his inner eye, what reckonings as to how the end would at last come ! For all of us there was one constant consolation—that those who were about him—his wife, his sisters and brothers, as well as his faithful chaplain, Father Dominic, were all worthy of himself. R.I.P.

Daniel Corkery.

RECENT IRISH NOVELS.[1]

BY KATHARINE TYNAN.

NO one can say that in the years following the War Irish publishers have been unaware of their duty to Irish letters. The firms already established have been producing lavishly; new firms have sprung up. Dublin has been having a little revival all of her own. Young writers have been given a hearing, whereas in England, where the demand governs the supply, they would have been sent away sorrowing. There are signs that this generosity of production is coming to at least a pause: labour unrest and the cost of production are freezing or about to freeze the genial current of the Irish publishers' souls.

If these signs mean anything one can only be grateful for the writers who found a hearing during the plentiful days. Perhaps it may be that less fiction is being produced. There is a long difference between the lyrical impulse, which produces the brief sudden song in days of greatest stress, and the steady design to write a novel. Most of our young novelists-to-be are expending their energy in politics at the moment. And Irish readers of

---

[1] Brinsley Macnamara: *The Clanking of Chains.* (Maunsel, 6s. 6d.).
St. John Ervine: *The Foolish Lovers.* (Collins, 7s. 6d.).
E. Œ. Somerville: *Mount Music.* (Longmans, 7s. 6d.).
M. A. Rathkyle: *Farewell to Garrymore.* (Talbot Press, 3s. 6d.).
Lennox Robinson: *Eight Short Stories.* (Talbot Press, 3s. 6d.).
Eimar O'Duffy: *The Wasted Island.* (Martin Lester, 7s.).
Bernard Duffy: *Oriel.* (Talbot Press, 7s.).
Forrest Reid: *Pirates of the Spring.* (Talbot Press, 7s.).

other than political matter must be, one thinks, fewer than ever. So this spring of tumultuous birth in the history of a people may be a very cold and deathly winter to the creative faculty in literature.

I do not think that any of the younger writers of recent years, with the exception of Mr. Brinsley Macnamara, have produced anything big, or promising bigness, in the way of the novel though there has been a good deal of interesting work. The impulse towards the novel has been nothing like so widespread and so eager as the impulses towards poetry and the drama which preceded it. Indeed one might say that these impulses are always with us. A young Irish writer, Mr. Eimar O'Duffy, has made one of his characters say that the modern Irish writer is lazy, because his output is in small plays and small poems. He himself has written a first novel as long as "Vanity Fair." There is some truth in what he says. The brief, sudden, sharp appeal of the poem, the play, the speech, are more to the Irish intellectual liking than the spadework of the novel. The Irish novel, as it stands, is the creation of the Anglo-Irish rather than the Celtic-Irish writer: Irishmen have not yet taken, except in scattered instances, to the writing of the novel.

In my own judgment of Mr. Brinsley Macnamara I set my hopes of him as a novelist less on the novel he has written, *i.e.*, *The Valley of the Squinting Windows* than on the half-novel, *The Clanking of Chains*, which the writer has taken as a medium for expressing his own political passions and revulsions, and for telling the story of Sinn Fein as it rose upon the ashes of the Constitutional Movement. *The Valley of the Squinting Windows* is a very dreary book. Its outlook on life is distorted. Not a flower grows in it but is predestined to the hoof of the beast. It belongs to the class of book which used to be called "powerful"; and the adjective, often enough, covered no more than a morbid purview. But this would not be true of *The Valley of the Squinting*

Windows, violently ugly and depressing as that book often is, because behind it are real passion and sincerity. The sharp cruelty and malevolence are never as depressing as, for example, the unwholesomeness of Mr. Eimar O'Duffy's school boys and young men. Mr. Macnamara's novel is written in so violent a reaction against cruelty and base-mindedness that he becomes cruel and misjudging himself. You read, in fact, feeling that Mr. Macnamara's window squints very badly indeed. No place and no people could ever be so hopelessly base as he makes the inhabitants of Garradrimna and Tullanahogue, with the exception of those two victims of the Furies, the innocent two, who flee through the pages of the book predestined to disgrace and despair. Even the prototype of books of this character, *The House with the Green Shutters*, has more compunction in it, more pity, than Mr. Macnamara's terrible first book. This human tragedy, unlike that other, leaves one without tears and without hope.

But it is sincere and poignantly felt; and the havoc and degradation of the human soul is drawn with a ruthless power. There never could have been such places as Garradrimna and Tullanahogue outside Hell, because there is no unrelieved blackness in any human community, least of all in Ireland; indeed John Brennan and Rebecca Kerr and Father Considine are too white to exist in a community of such appalling peasants as Mr. Macnamara creates; there must have been more of their sort, unless innocence is as much of a freak in the world as a white blackbird.

Personally, I read *The Valley of the Squinting Windows* in a mood of distaste and protest. I read *The Clanking of Chains* with an absorption that could not lay it down. No novel was ever less of a novel than this. There is an absurd heroine upon whom Mr. Macnamara has wasted no time. She is just a puppet, so shadowy and so poor that one might suspect Mr. Macnamara of being a woman-hater,

if it were not for the memory of Rebecca Kerr. The absurdly-named Mirandolina is hardly worth a man's consideration, even in playtime : but she does not exist ; she never takes shape ; *The Clanking of Chains* is a novel without a heroine.

Not so Michael Dempsey. On this hero Mr. Macnamara has lavished all his skill and all his heart. He is profoundly human and convincing—this shop-boy visionary, against the background of whose mind move kings and heroes, patriots and martyrs, while he is selling sugar and soap across the counter of Marcus Flynn's shop. As a profound and intimate study of the mind of Sinn Fein, the altogether new mind which has come to the youth of Ireland, this study of Michael Dempsey will have, I believe, a great historical value. To my mind, nothing has been written like it : it is absolutely a revelation. Can young men such as he, one asks oneself, in other circumstances have been shouting for the Parliamentary Party and receiving Mr. Asquith with frenzied manifestations of delight ? Perhaps they would have been standing aside. Perhaps they, or those like them, were standing aside, with profound dissatisfaction, during the more than twenty dead years between the death of Parnell and the creation of the Volunteers. Perhaps the curious admiration in which Sinn Fein holds Carson is due to the fact that he showed the way to bring back a new soul into Ireland.

The Clanking of Chains is a reaction from the smug self-satisfaction to which so many generations of Irishmen, since the ridiculous thing came in with O'Connell, have subscribed or pretended to subscribe. It reached its apex in the latter years of the Party's domination, and it had brought a new face into Ireland. It is a most curious thing to contrast a newspaper print of a group of Town Councillors, or some other corporate body, of the first decade of the century with a similar group of Sinn Fein representatives. The former are smug, flaccid,

exuding self-satisfaction, middle-aged and elderly men of a bourgeois type: the latter, lean, dark, eager, long-haired, often very handsome in the manner of a poet, earnest, with an almost undue predominance of forehead. Perhaps the followers of the Party only pretended to believe what they said about Ireland and the Irish: we are a shrewd and a humorous people, and perhaps many of these gentlemen had their tongues in their cheeks when they claimed the immunity of the Irish race from all human weaknesses. The idealist, but profoundly practical, Sinn Fein young men would hardly claim as much, though they might with more justice; but still one gets the backwash of it in the newspapers and from certain platforms.

Reaction has made Mr. Macnamara too bitter. He is illogical; for, having made Michael Dempsey an idealist of the finest type, he gives him for only companions a drunkard and a madman: all the rest are like a pack of wolves to tear him from his pedestal and destroy him and his passionate idealism together. Ballycullen is, as were Garradrimna and Tullanahogue, entirely, or almost entirely, sottish, evil-minded, canting, vulgar, envious, and debased; which is beyond the possibilities. In the last chapters even the Volunteers are no better than the gombeen man and his crew. This is entirely wrong and warped and leaves one with a sense of Mr. Macnamara's having his hand against every man. His bitterness flows over like a sea. He forgets his past admiration for the Volunteers, and they make but a sorry end, an end which on the face of it is impossible. If Michael Dempsey had lifted his Fiery Cross in any Ballycullen in all Ireland, he would have found at least a score of followers. But for the rest of it the book depicts with great power the class which had political influence in Ireland under the Parliamentary Party. It could hardly have been written of England: it might have been written of France. The gombeen man is a type common

to both countries, as is the village miser who accumulates money for the passion of hoarding it, and cares not at whose expense he grows rich. The unctuous person who turns politics to his own purposes is or was scattered up and down Ireland. To deny his existence, in a country where the ideal truly flourishes, where the people largely are gentle and courteous, high-minded and unselfish, is merely foolish. High lights and shadows are necessary in a picture; and without black, white would be a cold uniformity.

One complains of Mr. Macnamara that he gives black for a background rather than white or rose-colour or emerald green. Reaction and despair overspread his world. These things will pass as he grows older perhaps, and he will learn that ideals are compatible with success. In his books the idealist is born to destruction, but one doubts that the whole world is ready to cast a stone at the ideal. The evidence is all against it. There must be a great many idealists in Ireland to-day. Mr. Macnamara finds none in Ballycullen except, to set against Marcus Flynn and Thomas Cooney, Kevin Shanaghan and Conor Carbery, the drunkard and the madman, through whom God speaks. But warped as he is there is generosity. The passionate indignation covers the soldiers who come back to the unfriendliness of Ballycullen, and John Redmond cast down and meanly abused. There are wonderful passages. Of the soldiers:

"'Isn't this getting to be a bloody awful place,' they would say, one to another, as they stood lonely by the corner. There they would be, strange aliens with frightened eyes, trying to express themselves in the jagged jargon of hell which was their only acquisition from the Great War. . . They somehow always appeared draggled and forlorn, all mud and blood, as they came into Ballycullen and into the pubs. They might have a few pounds saved from the money they got from passing through hell, and immediately they would fall

into the hands of the corner-boys of Ballycullen; there might be a few quiet days in the attempt to win oblivion and blindness from appalling memories and horrid sights. Then a fight, maybe, with one of the corner-boys, and blood drawn in the muck of the streets, and shouts and the re-whooping of half-frightened, half-savage war-cries from Ypres and Bethune, with Sergeant Leonard suddenly coming sweating amongst them to quell the noise."

The Clanking of Chains will displease many people. The casting out of Michael Dempsey and some virulent passages on the Volunteers of Ballycullen suggest that the Volunteers had not yet revealed themselves to the eye of the writer. To read this book is to thank Heaven that the day is past in Ireland when the publican was king, but the publican was king in an unbelievable manner when Michael Dempsey was cast out of Ballycullen. But perhaps this was antecedent to our days, when the Volunteers lay upon themselves a self-denying ordinance and observe it to admiration.

To turn from this book to Mr. St. John Ervine's *Foolish Lovers* is to turn from something big in the making, still somewhat chaotic and libellously dark in the shading, to a calm and secure accomplishment. *The Foolish Lovers* is a delightful book. It is wise, it is witty, it is tender: the author takes infinite pains and his details build up reality for the reader. John, the Ulster-man is, I think, a triumph, *naïf*, opinionated, obstinate, forceful, one might detest him, but one loves him. His wooing of Eleanor is a masterpiece. Something of the queer loving tenderness which depicted Mrs. Rainey in *Mixed Marriage* is given to the portrait of Mrs. MacDermott. It would be so easy for the hand to shake, to make a false line in this admirable bit of portraiture. A little hard and dour on the surface, but strong and sweet and loving, Mrs. MacDermott lives. One is persuaded that Mr. Ervine has a wonderful mother and gives her all she deserves. In a sense the sweetheart

and the wife are subsidiary. They stand in the shadow of this masterful, uncaressing, unkissing woman, with her mother-tenderness and mother-wit just out of sight. There is something of the attitude of the Frenchman to the mother in this book of quiet achievement.

In one sense this is a very valuable book at the moment. We of the South and West are too apt, especially at a time like the present, to see all Ulster with an Orange shadow upon it. Here we have a family of Ulster Presbyterians, quiet, somewhat grim, industrious, proud, honest, with queer intense loyalties. The Celt who, in the days when talk flowed like a river, when we were orators first, accredited himself or allowed himself to be accredited with all the more remote virtues, might be amazed to find that in Ulster there were just such dreamers and visionaries, with just such unworldly loyalties as he liked to think he possessed. Uncle Matthew and Uncle John are just Presbyterian cousins of the ideal Celt. There is some very fine writing and thinking indeed in these early chapters on Ballyards and the MacDermotts: both brain and heart have gone to their making, and Mr. St. John Ervine makes us believe in them. They are too good not to be true.

He knows his London and the journalistic world well. He has a touch of Dickens at his least sentimental, of Mr. de Morgan at his best, in the London chapters; but when all is said it is by the MacDermotts and Ballyards the book lives. Let us hope that this is the beginning of a long series of Ulster Presbyterian novels to come from the pen of this most accomplished writer. He explains the queer friendship—unreciprocated perhaps—of Sinn Fein for the Ulster Volunteers. If there were many MacDermotts among them then Ireland would indeed be the poorer without them; for they are hers, not Scotland's nor England's.

A brilliant novel from the pen of Miss Edith Somerville, *Mount Music*, appeared last winter and was reviewed by me

in STUDIES. Let me say something again of this book, without which no review of recent Irish novels could be complete. Since the death of Violet Martin broke this wonderful companionship there is no loss of beauty, vivacity, wit, imagination or humour, in the work of the one left behind. Perhaps those two minds were so finely fused that when one partner had been taken away by death their spirits were still inextricable. The controversy while both lived as to which was the finer mind is not set at rest. Miss Somerville produced perhaps the most delightful book of the happy series in *Irish Memories*, but in that Martin Ross still had a hand as she had a hand in *Mount Music*. One has discovered just one thing. The gloomy power which created the Real Charlotte was Miss Martin's. The sunshine, and the laughter are more particularly Miss Somerville's. *Mount Music* is as fine an achievement as any of its predecessors. It has one big figure, a bit dark in the portraiture, in Dr. Mangan. Miss Martin must have had her share in him. His life-likeness to some of his prototypes in the Irish country towns must be apparent to anyone who knows the life. All the country-people and country towns-people are most faithfully observed. The cheerful vulgarity is brilliantly rendered, as also are the oddities and the tenderness. The defect, if it be a defect, is that these people are observed always from above them, never from beside them or within them. So that the vulgarity and the quaint delightful oddities are in a sense but half the picture. Something was denied to, some door locked against, these Irishwomen of genius who represented so admirably the good landlord, the good Protestant attitude towards those who were always their servants or their social inferiors. The wide humorous view of the Irish Celt, which is genius in Somerville and Ross, is yet something accidental. One feels that there must be much more than that to them: that, in the case of retainers and dependants these writers saw only as much as they were

allowed to see: and that is true of all the Anglo-Irish novelists. On the other hand to the Protestant life of Ireland belong the masterpieces of these writers' making. The Real Charlotte, and Francie, are almost oppressively living and breathing; for the matter of that so is the Big Doctor, though to say so much calls for a certain amount of retraction. But he is the exception that proves the rule. Long, long after one has laid a Somerville and Ross book aside the people they have created recall themselves to the mind because they live. Even the vulgarity of certain of the Catholic types—those young ladies and old ladies, for instance, who came to Larry Coppinger's picnic—is appallingly well-observed and true to life, although there would be the other kind, the extraordinarily refined and Madonna-like creatures who are at least as true Irish types; but perhaps they are too retiring, and the blowsy, good-hearted vulgarians take the novelist's eye. Anyhow *Mount Music* shows a hand that has not lost its cunning. Miss Somerville writes like an artist, like a painter. Her beautiful prose lives. It is *plein air*. Your pulses gallop with the hoofs of the horses: you see twilight and morning on glens and hillsides, and you hear the raining song of the lark from the bosom of a high cloud as this enchantress wills it. Laughter lightens the sad days: and of honest tenderness there is abundance and to spare. It is bestowed most lavishly on Christian, the heroine of *Mount Music*, not to be forgotten: and it is in Mrs. Mangan, and in the death of the Big Doctor.

With all the praise and affection this partnership has received one feels that their greater praise will be in the future. They have made live an Ireland that is dead or dying: and their places are assured. They are as real and as faithful as Carleton or Maria Edgeworth.

After these two writers of an assured reputation I come to something very different. *Farewell to Garrymore* is just such a small and modest book as might

easily escape notice, amid the clamour of more pretentious literature; which would be a pity, for the book in its way is a little masterpiece. There is absolutely no literary artifice of any kind. So little is it coloured by anything that has gone before that the writer might quite conceivably never have read a book. She might be just telling her own story of the days she remembered, from so fresh and so innocent a mind and heart that she sees the childish world with the eyes of a child, yet with the glamour that only comes with loss and experience. It is a very gracious and beautiful Ireland which is revealed to us in these pages. The scene is laid in the Queen's County, in a prosperous and pleasant setting. The time is those fruitful and sunny years between the Fenian Movement and the Land League; when Ireland had not yet emerged from feudalism and there were still tender and faithful ties between the Protestant employer and his Catholic servants. The Protestant strong farmer's household is the environment of the tale. The grown-up heroine is the general servant of the household, Judy Lanigan; the little sweet heroine is Bess, the child of Mr. Creagh, the strong farmer. Both alike are the most charming creations, pictured with a delicate clearness and distinction. Of story there is not very much. There is Judy's lover, Fergus, who got into some vague trouble, and went to America, and all but died if Judy had not gone out and married him, although it nearly broke her heart to leave the Creaghs. For the rest it is a record of the quiet life of the Creaghs and their jaunts to see other strong farmers or the Rectory people. But it is as sunny and sweet as those long dead years are in the memory of one who was young with them. There is a certain inconsequence in the writing. You are not introduced to the *dramatis personae*. They wander into the book, and sometimes you have a little difficulty in sorting them out, but presently in as leisurely a fashion as life itself they group themselves in the background

or the foreground, as may be, and you come to know them. The book has the leisureliness of the slow years, which in most stories are summarized into mere glimpses. It has lasting value as the record of days and a speech and an attitude of mind which are gone. All the delicious quaintnesses and richnesses with which the dialect made the English speech a new thing are here to delight those who used them and had forgotten them. The book is a faithful record of something that is over for ever, and it is made for us by one who observed it with the eyes of love and was able to recreate it for us and to keep it, lying under the enchanted light of long ago. As such it should live. "Sure you were always God Almighty's little girl!" said Fergus to Miss Bess in the last chapter of this most lovable book. The personality of the writer looks from the pages—a "God Almighty's little girl" grown up.

Eight Short Stories, by Mr. Lennox Robinson, are a noteworthy achievement. They will not reach as many people as *The White-Headed Boy* or *The Lost Leader*—but all who care for the fantastic, the elusive, the distinguished in literature, will delight in these slender tales. They have a French quality of lightness and shadowiness, with something very definite. Even when the tale is *macabre* as in "A Pair of Muddy Shoes," the touch is light and delicate. He cares for the *nuances* of life, not for its insistent, garish effects. "The Face" is a beautiful story—pure poetry: and there is the craftsman in "The Sponge" and "The Weir." To the man in the street Mr. Robinson would have nothing to say. He calls for an elect audience.

Mr. Eimar O'Duffy's *Wasted Island* is an unpleasant book in many ways. It belongs to the class of temperamental novels, and despite the number and variety of its incidents it centres entirely about the personality of the writer, which he is unable or unwilling to get outside. So much is this true that, when one is done with the book,

one remembers very little of the incidents but a great deal of the author as he reveals himself while pretending or intending to reveal others. One has a picture of him as a very young man, a rebel against the conventions, and very eager to show how rebellious he is. It is a Gallic rather than a Celtic temperament. But energy and vitality go to the making of this long book. It is an energy that needs clarifying. The new wine is rough on the palate. The book is certainly ugly. All Mr. Duffy's young men speak with the Dublin accent, which I refuse to believe of his associates, for I know some of them. An older man would not have made the sex episodes so ugly, any more than he would have played skittles with sacred things. But Mr. O'Duffy is out to shock the Dublin bourgeois, and so youth has its fling. He will probably be in time to come a little ashamed of his first book and of his youthful dread of honest sentimentalities. But there is promise in it. Even the offence it gives proves that it is not negligible.

For the rest I would recommend Mr. Bernard Duffy's *Oriel:* a charming tale full of light and colour, leisurely, with the airs of Ireland in it, and Mr. Forrest Reid's *Pirates of the Spring*, a book of wise knowledge and sympathy with boys and their thoughts and ways—a book over which grown men and women will linger happily, fortunate for once in finding a boy's book not after the conventional manner, stuffed with sawdust heroes, but the boy, living, bright, original, as we know him.

KATHARINE TYNAN.

PALESTINIAN CUSTOMS AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE.

BY EDMOND POWER, S.J., D.LITT.ORIENT.

Professor of Biblical Archaeology, Biblical Institute, Rome.

Part IV.[1]

FAMILY Life has its centre, in Palestine as elsewhere, in the house and home. Everybody is familiar with the Semitic word for house, as it forms the second part of the word alpha-bet, being the name of the second letter, which in its original form represented the simplest type of human habitation. When the Greeks took over the alphabet from the Phoenicians, to hand it on through the Latins to us, they were not long in developing the one-roomed Semitic "Beth" into a two-roomed Greek "Beta." The change is symbolical of the difference between the house in the east and the house in the west. Eastern domestic arrangements are marked by an extreme simplicity and an apparent disregard for those comforts and conveniences which seem essential to us. This difference, springing alike from character and climate, makes it natural to expect that a study of the modern Palestinian house will help to the better understanding of many Biblical passages.

The most primitive form of house in Palestine is the Bedouin tent. This consists of a covering of black cloth made from goats' hair and supported on strong poles,

[1] For Parts I., II., III. see the issues of Sept. (1919), March and Sept. (1920).

usually nine in number, which are placed in three rows across the width of the tent. The dark hair-cloth, though extremely serviceable both against heat and cold, scarcely requires wear and exposure to give it a poor and dirty appearance. Hence it is finely contrasted by the Spouse in the Canticle with the rich curtains of Solomon—"Dark am I yet comely, daughters of Jerusalem, like tents of Kedar, like curtains of Solomon."[1] As the curtains of Solomon were not black but bright in colour and as the Bedouin tents would scarcely be called beautiful by an eastern writer, the Spouse apparently means: I am dark like the black tents of the Bedouin tribe, Kedar, but yet comely like the rich curtains of Solomon.

A curtain reaching to within about two feet of the highest part of the roof runs along the whole length of the tent and separates the women's apartment, which is enclosed all round, from the men's, which is open on the far side. When the Scripture tells us[2] that Abraham on the occasion of the angels' visit "was sitting at the door of his tent in the very heat of the day," it means that he was in the open men's apartment, where he was sheltered by the roof from the heat. Sarah "within the tent" or "behind the door" was in the women's apartment and unseen, like the women in the east to-day; but through the open space between the dividing curtain and the tent-roof she could easily hear the prophecy of Isaac's birth and be heard too when she laughed.

The tent is held upright on its poles by means of ropes and pegs. The ropes are attached to the cloth at one end and have loops at the other through which the hard wooden pegs, two or three feet long, are driven into the ground. One can imagine the confusion within when the ropes are broken or the pegs give way. An Arabic poet boasts of his bravery in defence "when the poles fall on the tent-furniture," that is to say, when night-raiders had succeeded in stealthily cutting the ropes or

[1] Cant. I., 5. [2] Gen. xviii., 9-15.

pulling up the pegs. Jeremias prophetically describes the ruin of his country by saying: "My tabernacle is laid waste: all my cords are broken."[1] Isaias uses the figure of the tent-peg, which by its solidity supports the tent, in prophesying the appointment of Eliacim as prefect of the temple under Ezechias—"And I will fasten him as a peg in a sure place, and he shall be for a throne of glory to the house of his father."[2] The fall of Eliacim's predecessor, Sobna, is announced under the same figure—"In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall the peg be removed that was fastened in the sure place: and it shall be broken and shall fall: and that which hung thereon shall perish."[3] When Esdras says of the restoration after the captivity that God has given the Jews "a tent-peg in his holy place,"[4] he means by that a sure abode in the holy city of Jerusalem. Isaias thus foretells the prosperity of the Messianic age: "Enlarge the place of thy tent, stretch out and spare not the coverings of thy tabernacles, lengthen thy cords and strengthen thy pegs."[5]

The sharp-pointed wooden tent-peg is driven into the ground by means of a huge wooden mallet with a head about a yard long and half a yard in circumference. With such a peg (not a nail as in the Douay version) and such a mallet the Bedouin woman, Jael, took the life of the defeated Canaanite general, Sisera, who had fled to her tent.[6] A knowledge of tent-life and tent-law is necessary to understand the action of Jael and the praise she received from Debbora. She was alone in her tent when she perceived the armed and desperate Sisera approach it in his flight. She realised at once that he was determined to get the shelter he so sorely needed, not in the exposed part of the tent, but in the women's apartment, where alone he would be concealed from his pursuers. She knew too that by such a violation of the

[1] Jer. x., 20. [2] Is. xxii., 23. [3] l.c. v. 25. [4] I. Esdr. ix., 8.
[5] Is. liv. 2. [6] Jud. iv., 17-22; v. 24-27

privacy of the tent he would not only endanger her honour and her life but would forfeit his own to the members of her clan according to Bedouin law. Hence, with feminine strategy, she invited Sisera to enter and rest in the women's apartment, as appears from his subsequent injunction to her to stand at the door or in the men's apartment and deceive his pursuers as to his whereabouts. At his request for water she gave him instead a large draught of coagulated milk,[1] which is known to have a very soporific effect on an exhausted person. Then, when he had fallen into a deep sleep, she saved herself from all danger by executing on him the death-sentence he had incurred with the weapons of tent-peg and tent-hammer.

While the Bedouin prefers a tent, which he carries about with him in his wandering, the Palestinian *fellah* or peasant builds a house for himself and his family. The materials are determined by circumstances. In the mountains, where wood is scarce and stone abundant, not only the walls but even frequently the domed roofs are of stone. In the plains, on the contrary, the walls are made of clay bricks baked in the sun and the roofs of wood and clay. Isaias contrasts the two kinds of houses when he represents the inhabitants of Samaria as saying "in the haughtiness of their hearts" after their chastisement: "The bricks are fallen down, but we shall build with square stones."[2] The houses generally have a sombre and monotonous appearance, and are not easily distinguished at a distance from the surrounding country. This is especially the case in spring-time by reason of the grass, which shoots up after the rains on their low, flat, earthen roofs. This grass, which has no moisture at its roots, is the first to feel the scorching

[1] Hebrew hemah (v. 25), less correctly rendered "butter" in the Vulgate. Cf. G. Dalman, *Butter, Dickmilch und Käse im Alten Testament*, Palästina Jahrbuch, 1919, p. 31-36.

[2] Isaias ix., 10.

effect of the summer heat. Its sudden collapse makes Isaias compare the victims of Sennacherib's conquests to "the grass on the house-tops"[1] and suggests to the Psalmist his prayer against evil-doers: "Let them be as grass on the house-tops, which withers before it is plucked up."[2]

The stone houses require walls about three feet thick to support the heavy roof and thus need very strong foundations. The violent wind and rain-storms, moreover, easily undermine and demolish all houses that are not securely founded. Hence builders, in their search for bed-rock, will sometimes sink the foundations as far into the earth as they raise the roof above it. Usually, however, villages are built on the tops or the slopes of hills where the rock is easily reached. Such positions are also more secure against hostile attack. It is less common to choose as a building-site a valley or the neighbourhood of a spring. It thus appears that Our Lord, in speaking of the city built on the mountain,[3] recalled to the Apostles a very ordinary spectacle. The care still observed in seeking rock-foundations and the reasons for it illustrate the parables[4] of the man who built his house on the rock and the man who built his house on the sand. By these very familiar examples Our Lord made clear to his simplest hearers the absolute necessity of doing as well as hearing what he said.

When the master builder examines the stones quarried by the workmen before making his selection, disputes as to their value are sure to arise. The builder, for instance, seeing a large rudely-hewn soft-looking stone, will say: "This stone is too worn to be of any use." "No," replies a workman, giving it a few blows of the hammer to test it and show its solidity, "it will make a fine corner stone." The strong blocks, placed in each of the four corners at the foundation, which face two sides and play the most important part in sustaining the

[1] Isaias xxxvii., 27. [2] Ps. cxxviii., 6. [3] Mt. v., 14. [4] Mt. vii., 24-27.

edifice, are the corner stones. "Behold I will lay a stone in the foundations of Sion," says the prophet Isaias,[1] "a tried stone, a corner-stone, a precious stone, founded in the foundation." And the Psalmist says: "The stone which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner."[2] That Christ himself is "the stone which the builders rejected, the tried stone, the corner-stone, in the edifice of the Church, we know from his own words recorded by the Evangelists[3] and from St. Peter[4] and St. Paul.[5]

The houses of the poorer class of Palestinian peasants consist of only one room, part of which is at a higher level and occupied by the family and part lower down where the animals pass the night. A fair-sized house at the present day is about twenty-four feet long by sixteen wide; but the houses of the sixth or seventh century before Christ recently excavated at Jericho reached little more than half these dimensions.[6] When Our Lord spoke of the light placed on the lamp-stand and enlightening all that are in the house,[7] he evidently referred to a one-roomed dwelling. In Southern Palestine additional rooms or houses are built on the same line with the original one, and a court (where it exists) is surrounded on the three other sides by a wall with or without a hedge. But if a second room has to be built in Northern Palestine and Syria, to accommodate a newly-married son for instance, it does not adjoin the first but is placed at a room's distance from it, so that an open space is left between them. A third room, if required, will fill up one of the free sides of the intervening space or court; but the fourth side is left unoccupied and additional rooms are only attached lengthwise to the two original buildings. This structure is called a *dar*, literally "encirclement," and represents a better-class

[1] Isaias xxviii., 16. [2] Ps. cxvii, 22. [3] Mt. xxi., 42; Mc. xii., 10; Lc. xx., 17.
[4] Acts iv., 11; I. Pet. ii., 6-7. [5] Rom. ix., 32-3.
[6] K. Jäger, *Das Bauernhaus in Palaestina*, Göttingen, 1912, pp. 42, 61.
[7] Mt. v., 15.

peasant house or several houses of poorer peasants who unite for mutual help and protection. The different occupants of the rooms may have a common fire in the court, like the servants of the High-Priest at Our Lord's trial.[1] There too is frequently the baking-oven, described in a previous article, and a well or cistern for common use. When David fled from Absalom, two messengers, who were bringing him news from Jerusalem, took refuge in such a cistern in the court of the house of a man of Bahurim. A woman covered the mouth of the cistern with a cloth containing wet barley spread out to dry and so concealed them from their pursuers.[2]

The different rooms of the peasant's house do not communicate with each other directly but by means of the court on which they open. In the court too or in the street outside is the staircase by which the roof is reached. Such a staircase is, of course, unnecessary when one end of the roof is on a level with the street, as frequently happens in hilly sites. The absence of direct communication between the roof and the house throws light on the words with which Our Lord enjoins instant flight from the doomed city of Jerusalem before its destruction—"He that is on the house-top let him not come down to take anything out of his house."[3] Precious time would be lost by so doing instead of passing either directly or by way of the court to the street and making straight for the mountains. Similarly in the narrative of the paralytic, the bearers of the sick man, prevented from entering the house where Christ was preaching by the crowd at the door, had no difficulty in reaching the flat roof by the staircase outside. But how did they succeed in lowering the sick man through the roof without damaging it irreparably and launching a shower of dangerous projectiles on the crowd within? The question can only be answered by describing what materials go to form Palestinian roofs and how they are put together.

[1] Lc. xxii., 35. [2] 2 Kings, xvii., 18 sq. [3] Mt. xxiv., 17.

The roof of the Palestinian village house is generally constructed of wood and clay. When wood is not procurable stone takes its place; but even in the case of stone-domed roofs clay is piled on the top to make a flat surface either completely level or a little inclined to suit the rain-flow. The under stratum of the wooden roof consists of two longitudinal beams with light rafters laid crosswise over them. Directly above is a layer of reeds, broom and heath, though occasionally (in Northern Galilee, for instance) stone slabs intervene between this and the wood-work. A foot or more of earth, piled hard and constantly rolled after rain to prevent leakage, completes the structure. In making an aperture to let down the sick man the first and principal work would be to dig out a section of the hard clay. Then the heath and brooms could be taken away without any serious inconvenience to those underneath. Finally the removal of the reeds and light rafters would provide a space through which the couch containing the sick man might be lowered. At the present day such an aperture is frequently made in the roof to let down grain in summer-time.[1]

It thus appears that the explanation offered by the structure of the modern Palestinian house agrees perfectly with the brief but graphic description of St. Mark: "They uncovered the roof where he [the Saviour] was and, having dug it out, they let down the bed wherein the man sick of the palsy lay."[2] St. Luke, however, seems to introduce a new element when he says: "They went up upon the roof and let him down through the tiles with his bed into the midst before Jesus."[3] The tiles can scarcely refer to the thin slabs of stone which sometimes separate the wood-work from the upper part of the roof. The Evangelist would not use so very small and unimportant a part of that complex structure to

[1] Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, *The Syrian Christ*, p. 193.
[2] Mc ii., 4. [3] Lc. v., 19.

designate the whole. But addressing himself directly to cultured Greeks and Romans, who had no knowledge of the Palestinian villager's humble home and were only acquainted with tiled roofs, he would accommodate his language to the intelligence of his readers. Tiles (*tegulae*) in Latin and tile or tiling (κέραμος) in Greek are synonymous with roof.[1] If St. Luke is here less explicit than St. Mark, his reticence is explained by the scope of his gospel and the persons for whom it was intended. St. Matthew is still more reticent; for in describing the miraculous cure of the paralytic[2] he omits the roof incident altogether.

Two other peculiarities of the Palestinian roof have been put forward to explain the incident of the paralytic. An awning of leaves and brushwood or old boarding often extends over a portion of the court at or near the door. A battlement, moreover, of moderate height, made of transparent tiles, sometimes, but not invariably, surrounds the roof, as prescribed in Deuteronomy.[3] Wilson [4] thinks that the battlement tiles are those mentioned by St. Luke, and Mackie [5] holds that the roof, which was uncovered and dug out according to St. Mark, was the awning of boards or brushwood which shaded the entry. The two explanations supplement each other and facilitate considerably the operation of lowering the sick man. But they suppose that the house was empty and that Our Lord was at the door preaching to the crowd in the court. St. Mark, on the contrary, says expressly that Our Lord was in a house. When he adds subsequently that "there was no room; no, not even at the door," he evidently alludes to the door of the house, not to the entrance to the court, and implies that there was no means of entering the house where the Saviour was from the court. If he meant court in the present

[1] Cf. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* (London, 1905) p. 63. [2] Mt. ix., 2.
[3] Dtn. xxii., 8. [4] *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 71.
[5] *Bible Manners and Customs*, p. 91-2.

case he would use not οἶκος but αὐλή, as he does for instance to designate the court of the High Priest where St. Peter denied Our Lord.[1] We must therefore reject these explanations as contrary to fact and content ourselves with the simple and natural one given above.

Roofs in the east serve a number of subsidiary purposes which we should not dream of associating with them. It is from the roof-top, for instance, that public proclamations interesting the whole village are made. Our Lord alluded to this practice in words which we might be inclined to think figurative and hyperbolical when he said to his disciples: "That which ye hear in the ear, preach ye upon the housetops."[2] The roof is the place where the villagers assemble to see a fight or watch the approach of a hostile force, as little can be perceived in the low narrow streets. That is why Isaias begins his description of a hostile invasion of Judah with the words: "What aileth thee that thou art wholly gone up to the house-tops?"[3] The roof is an ordinary place to go to for rest or exercise or pleasant conversation, especially in the summer evenings. Hence Isaias couples the housetops with the market-places as public resorts in prophesying the sorrows of Moab—"On the tops of their houses and in their market-places they shall all wail and be dissolved in tears."[4] Grain, summer fruits and fuel for winter use are regularly spread out on the roof to dry. So when the Hebrew spies sought refuge in Rahab's house in Jericho, "she made the men go up to the roof of the house and covered them with the stalks of flax that were there."[5]

The roof frequently contains an upper chamber, whether this be a light temporary structure of boughs and branches or a solid permanent walled room. It is sometimes called in Holy Scripture the summer-house or house of coolness, just as the room underneath is called the winter-house. "I will strike the winter-house with

[1] Mc. xiv., 54. [2] Mt. x., 27. [3] Is. xxii., 1. [4] Is. xv., 3. [5] Josue ii., 6.

the summer-house,"[1] says the prophet Amos, meaning (according to some interpreters) the whole building from top to bottom. In the ninth month of the year or the middle of winter King Joakim "sat in the winter-house"[2] or lower-room, and cut out and burned in a brazier the prophecies of Jeremias as they were read to him. But when Aod came to kill King Eglon of Moab in the summer-time, he found him sitting alone in the "upper chamber of coolness."[3] It was a "walled upper chamber"[4] or permanent structure, not simply a "coenaculum parvum" as in the Vulgate, or a "little chamber" as in the Douay version, that the Sunamite women had erected by her husband for the use of the prophet Eliseus when he visited them. The permanent upper chamber is often used for the reception of guests and similar purposes in modern times. It was in a large upper chamber that Our Lord celebrated his last Pasch and instituted the Blessed Eucharist.[5] And we read in the Acts of the Apostles that the corpse of Tabitha was laid out in an upper chamber at Jaffa and there, surrounded by devout mourners, was raised to life by St. Peter.[6]

The window in the peasant's house sometimes coincides with the door. More usually, however, it is a small square hole made high up in the wall to prevent inspection. This aperture lets in a very limited amount of light and, when there is a fire, lets out a very limited amount of smoke. There is no such thing as a chimney in our sense of the word. When we read of the idolatrous Israelites in the prophecy of Osee that "they shall be . . . as the smoke out of the chimney,"[7] the word rendered chimney in the Vulgate literally means window or latticed opening. With such a small window it is easy to see that the peasant's house must be very dark, even when there is no smoke to increase the obscurity. Hence the woman in the Gospel who lost her groat began the search for it by lighting a candle.[8] The window

[1] Amos iii., 15. [2] Jer. xxxvi., 22. [3] Jud. iii., 20. [4] 4 Kings iv., 10.
[5] Mc. xiv., 15, Lc. xxii., 12. [6] Acts ix., 37. [7] Osee xiii., 3. [8] Lc. xv., 8.

has no glass, but is usually closed at night by wooden shutters. In richer houses the lower half of the window is, however, permanently framed with lattice-work and there are, moreover, wooden bars for protection. Such a window is referred to by the Spouse in the Canticle: "Behold he standeth behind our wall, looking from the window, peeping from the lattices,"[1] where possibly "I look from the window, I peep from the lattices," was the original reading. The mother of Sisera too is represented to us in the Canticle of Debbora as watching behind the latticed window grating for her son's return.[2] As windows of upper rooms are more removed from observation and interference they less frequently have grating to protect them. Hence we read of persons falling or being let down through them. Michol saved David from Saul by letting him down through a window[3] and Rahab, whose house adjoined the city wall, managed in the same way to get the two Hebrew spies safely out of Jericho.[4] Jezabel, on the other hand, was thrown down through an upper window to her death.[5] And even the grating did not save King Ochozias, who "fell through the lattices of his upper chamber and was sick."[6] The accident to the young man who slept during St. Paul's sermon and fell from a third storey window to the ground, took place not in Palestine but at Troas and probably in a Greek house.[7]

The hearth in the peasant's house is either in the centre of the apartment or in a niche in the wall, generally near the door. In the cold of winter a fire, mostly of green wood, burns all day, and the thick smoke penetrates the whole room and makes its way into the eyes, noses and throats of the inmates. This familiar source of irritation expresses vividly the annoyance caused by a slothful messenger in the Book of Proverbs—"As smoke to the eyes so is the sluggard to them that

[1] Cant. ii., 9. [2] Jud. v. 28. [3] 1 Kings xix., 12. [4] Jos. ii., 15.
[5] 4 Kings ix., 30 sq. [6] l.c. i., 2. [7] Acts xx., 9.

send him."[1] The presence of the smoke everywhere in the room offers a good explanation of a familiar passage in the Psalms, if we follow the Hebrew reading. The Psalmist says: "I am become like a leathern bottle in the smoke."[2] The Hebrew word, *qitor*, has always the meaning of smoke,[3] which is the rendering of the Targum, and never means frost, which we find here in the Syriac, Septuagint and Vulgate versions: "Factus sum sicut uter in pruina." The modern Palestinian suspends from the roof his worn leathern bottle when its days of service for holding liquids are over, and there it becomes dried up and shrivelled by the thick smoke. The preceding words of the Psalmist lead us to expect an indication of spiritual dryness and thus favour this explanation—"My eyes have failed for thy word, saying: When wilt thou comfort me? I am become as a leathern bottle in the smoke." As the commentators, however, cite no ancient parallels to prove the antiquity of the custom of suspending leathern bottles from the roof or the illustration of spiritual dryness and incapacity by means of such a leathern bottle, it may be well to show here that both ideas were familiar to the Arabs of over a thousand years ago. Ash-Sharishi[4] relates that a professional story-teller, who visited the Caliph Al-Motadid (892-902), had his attention rather forcibly called to "a leathern bottle suspended in a corner of the room." Having failed to make the Caliph laugh, he received ten blows with it on the back and thus discovered that it was filled with round stones a fact which implies that its days of ordinary service were over. A tenth-century writer, Abu-Talib-Makki, is our earliest authority for the following saying[5] attributed by

[1] Prov. x., 26. [2] Ps. cxviii., 83.

[3] Ps. cxlviii., 8, where it means "storm-clouds" (Vulg. "ice") is only an apparent exception, as the clouds associated with thunder and lightning are metaphorically called smoke. Cf. the description of the God of the storms in Ps. ciii., 32, "He toucheth the mountains and they smoke."

[4] Cheikho, *Magani-l-Adab*, iii., 226-8.

[5] *Patrologia Orientalis*, xiii., 3, p. 377. English version in *Expository Times*, 1903-4, p. 503.

Mohammedan mystics to Our Divine Lord himself: "Amen, I say to you, that as a leathern bottle, when it is neither torn nor dried up, is a good receptacle for honey, so the hearts of men, when not torn by passions or soiled by desire or hardened by comfort, become good receptacles for wisdom."[1]

The doors of the Palestinian houses are strong and made of wood. They turn on hinges which usually project from the top and bottom of the plank forming the inner edge of the door and work in holes in the upper and lower lintels. The two inner doors of the Temple of Solomon, that of the Sanctuary and that of the Holy of Holies, had hinges of gold. The Book of Proverbs testifies to the presence of hinges in the doors of ordinary houses when describing the late riser: "As the door turneth upon its hinges so doth the slothful upon his bed."[2] The door is closed by means of a bolt usually on the outside. The outer end of this wooden bolt has a deep groove for about a third of its length over which are several holes in a regular pattern. Iron pins fall from above into these holes and hold the bolt fast when it is driven home. The door is thus locked automatically without using a key. We can now understand how Aod in the Book of Judges,[3] after leaving the upper chamber where he had slain Eglon, King of Moab, was able to lock the door on the outside, simply by shooting the bolt home, and thus secure time to make good his escape. And how was it subsequently opened by King Eglon's servants? Undoubtedly by means of a key like that still used in Palestine. This is a piece of wood with projecting pegs corresponding exactly in position and length to the holes in the bolt. When the key is inserted in the groove and pushed upwards, the pegs force back the iron pins and allow the bolt to be withdrawn. As the Palestinian key is not a small piece of iron but a

[1] The rendering "frost" or "ice" of the versions also gives a possible sense and may be due to a variant Hebrew reading, *qerah*, in Ps. cxviii., 83.

[2] Prov. xxvi., 14. [3] Jud. iii., 23.

moderate-sized piece of wood, it may quite naturally be carried on the shoulder. Hence we read in the prophecy of Isaias, addressed directly to Eliacim, son of Helcias, and applied to Our Divine Lord in the Apocalypse: "And I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder, and he shall open and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open."[1] Sometimes the bolt is not on the outside but on the inside of the door, and in that case there is usually a hole in the door to admit the hand and the key. This explains the words of the Spouse in the Canticle: "My beloved put his hand through the key-hole. . . I opened the bolt of my door to my beloved."[2] It may be here noted that while this ancient method of securing the door still prevails in parts of the Holy Land, European locks and keys are now more generally used.

The peasant's house in Palestine has no bed-rooms. The household, instead of retiring, assembles to rest. The usual sleeping-place is a corner of the more elevated part of the living-room; but if the family is numerous they lie scattered here and there. There is a possible reference to the "corner of the bed" in the prophecy of Amos,[3] but the text is uncertain. When we read, however, in the Old Testament that Ezechias[4] and Achab,[5] as they lay sick in bed, turned their faces to the wall, we may conclude that the position of their couches was somewhat similar to that of the modern Palestinian. On the other hand, the answer of the man in the Gospel to the friend who came by night to borrow three loaves of bread, "Trouble me not, the door is now shut and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee,"[6] can be better understood if we suppose that the children were reposing in different parts of the room. An effort to comply with the request would do more to awaken and disturb them than a moderate amount of speaking and

[1] Is. xxii., 22; Apoc. iii., 7. [2] Cant. v. 4-6. [3] Amos. iii., 12.
[4] 4 Kings xx., 2. [5] 3 Kings xxi. 4. [6] Luke xi., 7.

knocking. The peasant uses a cushion for a pillow and, except for this, is only separated by a reed mat or a straw mattrass from the earthen floor. He sleeps without undressing, using his rough outer tunic or mantle for a coverlet, but in very cold weather usually manages to have a pair of woollen blankets for additional protection. The mantle is made of two lengths of coarse woollen stuff, each about seven feet long and two and a half wide. These are doubled up at the ends and sewn together, so that the completed garment, which has holes for the arms and is open in front, measures about four feet in length and five in circumference. We learn from Exodus and Deuteronomy that the peasant's tunic was also his blanket in ancient Israel and had therefore to be restored at night if taken away in pledge—" If thou take of thy neighbour a garment in pledge thou shalt give it him again before sunset. For that same is the only thing wherewith he is covered, the clothing of his body, neither hath he any other to sleep in."[1] The peasant's bed, which is kept in a large niche in the wall of the room by day and which he takes with him on his horse or ass when travelling, is thus a very simple affair. Hence Our Lord's injunction to those whom he cured, " Take up thy bed and walk,"[2] involved nothing difficult or extraordinary.

The Palestinian peasant, however poor he may be, never fails to keep a lamp burning all night to " enlighten all that are in the house."[3] A Syrian lady, who paid a six months' visit to England some years ago, recorded as one of her strangest experiences " the dreadful practice of lying down to sleep in the dark."[4] She thus showed her kinship to the valiant woman in the Book of Proverbs of whom it is said, " Her lamp is not extinguished in the night."[5] Job alludes to the same custom when he expresses his deep misery by saying, " I make my bed

[1] Ex. xxii., 26-7. Dtn. xxiv., 13. [2] Mc. ii., 9, 11. Jo. v. 9, 11, etc.
[3] Mt. v., 15. [4] Neil, *Everyday Life in the Holy Land*, p. 67. [5] Prov. xxxi., 18.

in darkness."[1] So likewise does St. Peter when he compares prophecy to "a light that shineth in a dark place till the day dawn and the day-star arise."[2] The love and enjoyment of light and the hatred and fear of darkness are naturally intensified in a country where there is so much brilliant sunshine by day and so little public security by night. Job thus describes the fate of the wicked: "The light shall be dark in his tabernacle and the lamp that is over him shall be put out."[3] And similarly we read in Proverbs: "The light of the just shines brightly, but the lamp of the wicked is extinguished."[4] The Psalmist prays against his persecutors that "their way may be dark,"[5] and Isaias announces God's judgment on the Chaldeans with the words: "Go into darkness."[6] He hath set darkness in my path,"[7] or "He hath caused me to dwell in dark places,"[8] is a sad lamentation. "Ye expected light and he hath made darkness"[9] expresses grievous disappointment, just as "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light"[10] denotes the coming of the Messiah, the joy of salvation. Indeed, it is especially in allusions to Our Divine Lord that light expresses happiness even more than guidance. He is "the Orient from on high who visited us to enlighten those that sit in darkness and the shadow of death."[11] He is "the light of the world" and "those who follow him walk not in darkness."[12] He is "the lamp" of the heavenly Jerusalem, no longer the guide but the eternal happiness of the blessed. "And the city hath no need of the sun nor of the moon to shine in it. For the glory of God hath enlightened it, and the Lamb is the lamp thereof."[13]

The house in Palestine, important as it is, is more a shelter than a home; life is mostly lived out of doors. In our next article we shall pass beyond the limits of the house and family, and treat of hospitality, salutations, travel and social intercourse in general. EDMOND POWER.

[1] Job, xvii., 13. [2] 2 Pet. i., 19. [3] Job. xviii., 5. [4] Prov. xiii., 9.
[5] Ps. xxxv., 6. [6] Is. xlvii., 5. [7] Job xix., 8. [8] Lam. iii., 6.
[9] Jer. xiii., 16. [10] Is. ix., 2. [11] Lc. i., 79. [12] Jo. viii., 12. [13] Apoc. xxi., 23.

BRITISH LABOUR AND IRISH NEEDS.

BY JAMES WINDER GOOD.

IT would be stupid as well as churlish to refuse to recognise that the attitude of English to Irish Labour is one of goodwill. There may be differences of opinion as to the practical value of goodwill as measured by the warmth of resolutions passed at the tail-end of conferences at Caxton Hall and in Unity House, or of the declarations of sympathy which on platforms and in Parliament are nowadays amongst the stock utterances of trade union leaders. But it cannot reasonably be doubted that goodwill exists; and this is a factor, as even thorough-going professors of *realpolitik* are aware, which (provided other things are added to it) may be of incalculable political importance.

Why is it that in the main English Labour in its dealings with this country limits itself to abstract declarations of sympathy, and even in crises which it is no less important to English than to Irish democracy should be solved in the Irish way stops short of deeds while lavishing eloquent words? The question urgently demands an answer, but the answers that have been given are not seldom dictated by the particular bias of the questioner rather than by an impartial desire to discover the truth. I do not think it is profitable to waste much time on arguments which seek to solve the riddle by attributing to British trade unionists sinister Machiavellian schemes which, under the guise of a proffer of friendship, are really inspired by racial rancour. The hypocrisy, if it exists, is (I imagine) wholly

unconscious, and though racial differences do contribute to the misunderstanding their significance does not lie in the fact that English Labour sets itself to exploit and accentuate them, but that, on the contrary, it fails to allow for them and endeavours to act as if they did not enter into the issue.

The great stumbling-block, to my mind, is the genuine inability of the British worker and his leaders to realize what are, in Irish opinion, fundamental facts. Probe deeply enough into their minds, and one finds at every critical juncture the assumption that Irish democracy, in so far as it pursues a different course from that which English democratic opinion would map out, is recklessly abandoning the straight and narrow path to hunt after will-o'-the-wisps. On another plane this is the hoary fallacy which vitiates all English thinking on Irish questions, and though the trade unionist deplores and denounces the blindness of other parties in their efforts to frame an Irish policy, he displays an almost equal lack of comprehension. He jibes at the partisans who proclaim that, if Irishmen would only become good Liberals or good Conservatives, all their ills would disappear as if by magic ; but in practice he insists no less strenuously that the one thing necessary for our economic and political salvation is that we should sink everything else to become good Labour men after his peculiar fashion.

For the Irishman, however, the vital thing is to be a good Irishman, without which he instinctively realizes he can hope to be nothing. He does not reject Liberalism, Conservatism or Labour ; his problem is to clear the ground so that he and his fellows may be free to choose their own line of development. This is exactly what our neighbours on the other side of the Irish Sea fail to understand. The lumber and shot rubbish which all our energies are directed to removing from our path are not in their eyes serious impediments. And certainly they are not impediments which in their opinion justify the subordina-

tion of class differences to national ends. Therefore, when Irish Labour persists in giving battle in causes which cross-Channel Labour decides are not class causes, one finds, not perhaps expressed in words, but always implicit in action or in the refusal to act, the conclusion that this is part of the perversity which, for the English, is inherent in the Irish temperament.

Perversity is the last charge that can be sustained against Irish Labour. Whether one agrees or disagrees with its ideals and methods, one must admit that these are simple, coherent and rigidly logical. Dominating all other considerations in its policy is the rooted conviction that the sole hope of progress lies in establishing conditions in Ireland under which Irish influences will have the power to shape national destinies free from outside intervention or dictation. Once this fact is grasped, the difficulties raised by doctrinaires as to tactics are seen to be wholly irrelevant. By combining with other sections of their countrymen in a united effort to eliminate alien rule Irish workers, far from betraying their special interests, are adopting the only method by which these interests can be successfully advanced. A family may wrangle fiercely over the division of property; but if armed burglars invade the house, the disputants will have little hesitation in joining hands to expel them. No Irishman asserts that the ending of foreign rule means necessarily the coming of Utopia; but he knows in his bones that, until he is master in his own house, not only is Utopia an impossibility, but it is idle to hope for any radical improvement in the existing social fabric. This is not an illusion created by hysterical nationalism; it is the impression of a belief founded on the solid and unassailable facts of history. To no one does it come home more forcibly than to the worker, who has no need to make up evidence from blue-books and reports but collects his proofs from his own experience in everyday life.

Undoubtedly the forces which are resolved to hold

Ireland in thrall to her neighbour would maintain their strangle-hold even if Labour had never emerged as a problem. But those whose special interest it is to ensure that the worker shall always be the under-dog look to the bludgeon of British domination as the best weapon in their armoury. As the bludgeon has been used in the past, and is still being used when a suitable opportunity offers, to prevent industrial progress, so it is used even more ruthlessly to defeat the aspirations of Irish Labour. At the worst, Irish prosperity was and is feared only by an English minority who see in it a menace to their profits; the demand of Irish Labour is regarded by the property owners and profiteers, whose policy the English Government (even in "a world made safe for democracy") exists to enforce, as a challenge which threatens their very existence.

Irish Labour seeks to establish a new status, to supersede the theory of crumbs from the master's table and the cash nexus beloved of Victorian economists by a settlement based on human rights and conforming to an ethical ideal. The Irish people on the whole recognise the justice of this claim; and though, I admit, much will have to be done, even in a self-governing Ireland, before difficulties are finally removed, the best brains and the best thought of an independent Ireland will be directed to the framing of a charter which will ensure that class divisions shall not, as in existing capitalist states, perpetually imperil the ideal of national unity. The reactionaries who have poured out hundreds of millions, not (as they profess) to punish Lenin for crimes against humanity but to compass the ruin of a government which rejects their economic creed, are alive and alert to the danger which would accrue to them from an Ireland which would settle labour difficulties by reason and goodwill instead of by coercion and machine-guns.

Irish poverty has in the past always been held by the dominant minority to be the guarantee of English security,

and the minority is still more strongly convinced that to retain class divisions and perpetuate class antagonisms in Ireland is equally essential to the maintenance of its economic ascendancy nearer home. But what of the British majority for whom the overthrow of this economic ascendancy is a matter of life and death? Why does it fail to realize the bearing of the Irish struggle on its own battle? Its opponents make no concealment of their belief that an Irish victory would be for them a disaster, and they are mobilising all their resources to prevent such a victory. Their activity, far from spurring British Labour to act, seems on the contrary to induce a state of still more inglorious passivity.

Even the Carsonite pogroms—the most deadly blow levelled at Labour, and not at Irish Labour alone, in living memory—have evoked from the elected leaders of English Labour no more than a few weak protests, which for all their practical effect might as well have remained unuttered. The men who rushed to join in a blockade to end the White Terror in Hungary and declined to load ammunition for the Poles have made no effort to meet the challenge of Belfast, though it is a matter which concerns them more nearly than anything that has happened in Budapest or Warsaw. They affect to regard it as a mere explosion of sectarian bitterness, a mediaeval survival peculiar to Ireland and without any bearings on affairs outside its borders. This view is entirely misleading. Undoubtedly these passions were loosed by men to whom the burning of Catholic houses and the maiming or even the murder of their owners and occupants are in themselves desirable things. But the gusto of the outrage-mongers is all the greater if their exploits can be made to serve other purposes equally dear to their heart. And in Ulster they serve a very definite purpose. The underlying object of the pre-war Carsonite campaign was not merely to defeat the Asquith Home Rule Bill, but to discredit the whole theory of democratic rule. Thanks to the supineness

of British Liberalism this was accomplished with entire success, and illegal force superseded legal right and justice as the dominant influence in Irish affairs. The post-war campaign now in full swing aims at completing the triumph by destroying the solidarity of Labour, and involving its Protestant and Catholic wings in an internecine conflict for the advantage of plutocrats and profiteers.

The movement is represented in Great Britain as a protest against Sinn Fein, but its real genesis is to be found in the Belfast general strike of January and February, 1919. To the Ulster leaders, who are capitalists first and Carsonites afterwards, this strike, organised by Orange workers as a demonstration of their adhesion to democratic principles, was an upheaval of as sinister significance as would have been an acceptance of the full Republican programme. It revealed that even if the plot to cut out the six counties should succeed as a political device, its success would be for them a disaster were the Orange rank and file resolved to insist on a fair division of the spoils. Though staggered, the ruling faction was not dismayed, and its resources were speedily mobilised and directed with passionate energy to the old game of creating divisions in the ranks by kindling sectarian animosities.

The strike did not fail for this reason ; its collapse was due to weak leading and worse staff-work. But in the cold fit that followed the return of the men to work on the masters' terms it was not difficult for unscrupulous propagandists to foster suspicions and intensify differences. These efforts were materially aided by a slump in shipbuilding activity and by a shortage of raw material and orders in linen mills and weaving factories. The real enemies of the workers, it was argued, were not masters who paid poor wages, but Sinn Fein intruders from South of the Boyne who were drawing large sums weekly while Protestant workers walked the streets in compulsory idleness. These Sinn Feiners were as mythical as the

Russian army which in 1914 was supposed to be passing through England on its way to Belgium. Though the shipyards alone could at one time have found places for 5,000 Southern workers, only a tenth of this number was ever available. And from the Armistice onwards there was a steady reduction in the ranks of the temporary workers. But the legend speedily became an article of faith, and when feeling had become sufficiently embittered the Orange leaders gave the signal for a Jehad.

To-day their dupes, glutted with loot and blood, believe that they have at last entered into their heritage. What they have done, however, is to rivet still more firmly about their necks the fetters of their taskmasters. Henceforth their energies will be absorbed in preventing the Ulster Catholics from rising above the condition of helots. This is, no doubt, a thoroughly congenial task, but the Orange worker is certain to discover before long that it has its drawbacks as well as its delights. As in the Land War Protestant tenants were told that by insisting on justice for themselves they were playing into the hands of those who were "marching through ruin and rapine to the dismemberment of the Empire," so every claim by Protestant workers for better wages and conditions of labour will be denounced as a plot inspired by the enemy for the undoing of the Carsonite cause.

British Labour recognised that British Liberalism by its tame surrender to Carsonism in 1914 signed its own political death-warrant. But the Carsonite challenge of 1920 finds labour equally reluctant to take up the gauntlet. A couple of unions took the obvious course of declaring that the imposition of sectarian tests would ensure the expulsion of all members applying them. Had that policy been generally adopted the Orange veto would have been speedily broken. Unfortunately, the majority of the Unions elected to stand aside after making a purely formal protest. Carsonism has scored all along the line, and it will not be the fault of its leaders if their victory has

not reactions in areas far removed from Ulster. They and their English backers are well aware that they have struck a blow at the central principle of trade unionism more destructive in its effects than the Taff Vale judgment; and the blow is not the end but the beginning of an offensive.

Even if we assume—an assumption which is contradicted by the facts—that cross-Channel labour was powerless in Carsonia, it was not powerless as far as the rest of Ireland is concerned. Its intervention would have turned the scale at an early stage in the munitions dispute, and intervention should not only have been forthcoming on the merits of the question but was an obligation of honour which could not be repudiated without an open betrayal of principle. To load war stores for Ireland while refusing to load them for Poland cannot be explained away as merely a tactical blunder. Had it been this and no more, the Council of Action would long since have repaired its error, instead of which it has deliberately turned its back on Irishmen who are fighting to establish a principle which in theory it still ostentatiously professes to cherish. If, as is asserted on good authority, Labour was pot-valiant about Poland because a hint had been dropped by Mr. Lloyd George that a demonstration of the kind would not be unwelcome to the Government, which was at its wits' end to discover some effective means of bringing pressure to bear on France, its responsibility for what is happening and what may happen in Ireland is still heavier. Nor can that responsibility, as some trade union leaders appear to think, be evaded by the issue of manifestoes, however strongly worded or by declarations that produce no results in action.

One would have thought that the least intelligent elements in British Labour would long since have discerned the consequences to their own interests that flowed from their muddle-headed attitude towards Ireland. They made no effective protest against the inauguration of a

White Terror in Ireland; and though England has up to the present escaped a White Terror, the Act which was rushed through Parliament during the coal strike enabling the Government in what it chooses to decide is a national emergency to declare a state of siege, ensures that in the future the English worker, if the need arises, shall learn at first hand what coercion means in practice. English Labour is repeating the worst mistakes of English Liberalism, and for precisely the same reasons. The men who direct its affairs are hypnotised by the prospect of one day occupying the seats of the mighty, and believe that they will have an easier tenure of office if they refrain now from pushing opposition to extremes. Apart altogether from the question of principle, the Carsonite campaign against the Asquithians should open their eyes to the treatment they may expect if the reins of nominal power are ever placed in their hands. But their enemies have not waited for their advent to office to begin the process of sapping their strength. The process is already in operation, and their reluctance to do anything except argue on the Irish issue steadily diminishes their prestige.

It is possible to find excuses for British Labour's shortcomings from the Irish point of view, but the air of condescension which it adopts is decidedly trying at times. I am willing to admit that the condescension is largely unconscious, but this does not make it less objectionable. Undoubtedly, as compared with the Irish movement, British Labour can show a long record of material success. But, as its best friends admit, if it has not failed, it falls short in just those things which make Irish Labour so vital a factor in Irish life. Leaders and followers alike are inherently suspicious of ideas, and are singularly averse from giving battle in any cause which does not hold out the hope of an immediate return in hard cash. This attitude is not necessarily wrong; on the contrary, it would be easy to show that it has contributed in no small degree to the building up of the labour movement on solid founda-

tions in the face of opposition so strong and well organised that a purely idealist crusade would have stood little chance of making head against it.

English Labour has now reached a stage when lack of vision is more dangerous to its future than lack of caution. It may be easier and safer, as its leaders appear to believe, to travel in a rut; but the ruts do not lead to the heights; and before English Labour can enter the Promised Land it must abandon made roads for the difficult mountain tracks. If it decides to essay the adventure, it will find in Irish Labour an invaluable ally. Whatever the defects of our workers and their leaders may be, and that they have defects cannot be denied, they possess in a rare degree moral courage and imaginative insight. These qualities they are ready to place at the disposal of their fellows on the other side of the Irish Sea, provided that the alliance is a federation of equals and not a combination in which the smaller unit must conform in all things to the dictates of the greater. Is English Labour prepared to work for the success of a policy which Irish Labour freely accepts? If its leaders are, then the outlook is bright. But if they are not willing to concede us the right to tackle our urgent problems in our own way, let them concentrate their energies on their own affairs instead of seeking, as they have so often done, to score a point against their opponents by futile and sterile professions of sympathy with Irish claims which cost little to make and are worth less than nothing.

J. W. Good.

DEIRDRE.

WHEN the long gleam of spearmen wended
Homeward to the wan-grey west,
In the heather unattended
Where the moon began to rest,
Drooping like a fawn, she stood,
With her fingers at her breast,
And the tides of evening blended
With her spirit's solitude.

There was in her eyes no riot,
Nor upon her brow a veil;
Only flew the wind chill by it,
And her queenly lips were pale
For the love laid low how soon,
Swift as with a flashing flail;
Long she stood wand-tall and quiet,
Clear against the winter moon.

But her soul, of all earth's daughters
Darkest in its poverty,
Sought the hand that once had sought hers,
Wrestling with a mystery—
Like an eagle, midnight-banned,
Traversing an unknown sea,
Wandering over roaring waters
Blindly toward the silent land.

ARTHUR LITTLE.

CONCERNING SONG.

GO, poet—steal your singing from a star;
From wave, or flower, or wind;
From tempest wild;
From out the face of any little child—
From life or death seek, seek and you shall find;
Then, having found, tell out your finding far!

EGBERT SANDFORD.

TO MARGARET S., AGED ONE.

YOU came when Summer in garden-closes
Was sweet with roses,
Yourself more sweet;
With lips where softness of blown buds lingers,
With rose-bud fingers,
And rose-bud feet.

Then Autumn followed and roses faded,
While rain-clouds shaded
The breezy sky;
And dark, chill Winter wrought dismal ruin
Till plots they grew in
Saw all flowers die.

But health and vigour were strong within you,
And nerve and sinew
Took shape and form,
And mother's arms were a blissful bower
To shield her flower
And keep it warm.

Then Spring came back to a world light-flooded,
And roses budded
As yester-year,
To find you grown to a life completer,
A rose-bud sweeter
And still more dear.

Again most royal, a glad new-comer,
Rules golden Summer
O'er all the lands,
His queen a baby whose grace dismisses
Her court with kisses
And waving hands.

So reign among us when Summer is over,
Nor turn a rover
For long years yet;
For ever and ever with love's chain bind us,
Till Death shall find us,
Sweet Margaret.

J. W. A.

FLOS MARTYRUM.

(After the French of P. Odilon, O.S.B.)

'TWAS in a land bathed by surging seas
And by a martyr people's crimson flood,
Sweet flower, that in your purple robe you stood;
And there my soul was swept with memories.

Why of all flowers should my fancy please
To pluck you, clinging to a broken Rood?
Because your roots were fed with saintly blood,
And in your crown outglowed its jewelries.

No more your breath mellows the air again,
As the sap flows no more, but from my heart
Your mystic sweetness never can depart,
Odour of virtues from the field of Pain,
O precious flower, where God had given you birth,
A memory of Heaven's links with earth!

GEORGE NOBLE PLUNKETT.

ANNAMOE.

AN emerald field beneath your feet
Slopes to the climbing wood,
And green and brown and pale green meet,
And the summer wind is good.

And far beneath the green and brown
The blue lies carpet deep,
Where hyacinth beds are soft as down,
For who would lie and sleep.

Beyond the tree-tops, leaf on leaf,
The silver water lies ;
And deep cold pools would bring relief
To tired and aching eyes.

And all around the Wicklow hills,
Purple and green and blue,
Pour healing for a thousand ills,
And make your soul anew.

If I could rise and take that way,
Though the road is steep and long,
I'd lie on a hyacinth bed to-day,
And hear the blackbird's song ;

And wake at last to the dew and dusk,
Or the softest summer rain ;
And deep, so deep, in honey and musk,
Rest, and forget all pain.

PAMELA TYNAN HINKSON.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS.

XII.—Love of Ireland.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

This is a poem by Fearghal Og, author of No. V. of this series. It was written in Scotland, and addressed to one of the Magennises, chiefs of Iveagh in Co. Down. At the time of writing the Irish cause was still flourishing in Ulster, but the Geraldines of Munster had been crushed, and the only strong native ruler was the Earl of Thomond, called in § 10 "the Earl of the Fergus," from the river in South Clare. From another poem we know that the author had visited Munster. His enforced stay in Scotland may have been connected with the enemy referred to, but not named, in § 8. The period must be the close of the sixteenth century, and the subject is the love and longing of the exile, so common in modern Irish verse.

There are several MSS. copies. I give a normalized text, founded principally on that of the O'Conor Don's Book and of 23 F 16 (R.I.A.).

FEARGHAL OG MAC AN BHAIRD *cct.*

1. Beannacht siar uaim go hEirinn,
crioch mín sleachta saoir-Fhéilim :
buime ar n-oileamhna is í soin,
ní doidhealbha í ar fhéchoin.

2. Siar ó Albain na n-eas mbinn
beannacht uaimse go hEirinn :
crioch bhreicmhín as mhín moighe,
seintír mar thír tarngoire.

3. Beannacht go baile Phádruig,
Ard Macha an mhúir mhíonfhádbhuig,
'sgo ríoghDhoire na sreabh seang,
treabh as líonmhaire léigheann.

4. Lé díoghrais go Dún na nGall
beannacht nó dhó arís romham :
sí shaoilim do fhóir mh'aicme,
róimh aoibhinn ar n-adhlaicne.

5. Beannacht go hEas rámhach Ruaidh,
go sruth Sligigh 's go seanMhuaidh :
buaidh tar gach n-innbhear aige,
's go cuan mbinngheal mBuannaidc.

6. Beannacht go Loch Eirne uaim,
's go Loch Gile an fhóid ionfhuair,
's go Loch ngeal bhfíonmhar bhFeabhail
na sreabh bhfíorghlan bhfoithreamhail.

7. Beannacht chuca ceann a gceann
go hinnbhearaibh fhóid Eireann :
folchuid siad tráigh le toradh,
ní cáir gan iad d'adhmholadh.

8. Mo bheannacht ós aird uile
go hUlltaibh acht aonduine :
caor slóigh as neambocht aniogh,
mo bheannacht is dóibh dlighthior.

9. Beannacht chuca, ní cúis nár,
idir fhear is mhnaoi is mhacámh :
laoich fhearchonta as fhíorghlan smacht,
ríoghradh chleathchorcra Chonnacht.

10. Beannacht uaim 's ní hiongnadh dhamh,
go sluagh mórdhuasach Mumhan :
críoch a riaghla is nár anois,
acht amháin iarla an Fhorghais.

11. Bhós muna bheidís Dubhghoill
san Mhidhe thais thobarmhoill,
tiar ní dhingninn a ndearmod,
an fhinnshlim fhial oirearbhog.

12. Sluagh Laighean nach beag bronnadh,
siad fós gion go bhfacamar,
laoich uaisle go n-ágh n-oinigh,
slán uaimse dá n-ionnsoighidh.

13. Tréd geildearg na ngruadh gcorcra,
beannacht do dhruim dúthrochta
an drong ógnáir fhuair gach geall,
uaim go hógmhnáibh na hEireann.

14. O chroidhe tar fiadh bhfuinidh
beannacht uaim dá n-ionnsuighidh,
lucht dénta na nduan molta,
sluagh brégtha gach bantrochta.

15. A ndearmad dúinn ní dleaghair,
lucht sgaoilte gég ngeinealaigh,
tearc file dá rádh reampa,
grádh mo chridhe an chuideachta.

16. Lucht fóirthe cneadh gan chairde,
beannacht siar tar seanfhairge
ón chrích chuirr fhínfhleadhaigh fhinn
go ríghleaghaibh Fhuinn Fhéilim.

17. Ar mbeannacht do thaobh thoile
go cléirchibh Fhóid Iughoine,
drong shéimhidhe nach borb mbreath,
an t-ord céillidhe cráibhtheach.

18. Beannacht róm, ní rún folaigh,
go lucht an cheóil charthonaigh,
tearc fáidhfhile as fearr fá a bhfuair,
's go háiridhe a gceann Chiothruaidh.

19. Tar éis gach druinge dhíobh soin
beannacht gus an óigh n-arsoidh,
dán céile Cormac ua Cuinn,
Eire na ndonnbhrat ndíoghuinn.

20. Gorm fallán fér na hinnse,
dlúith a coillte cnóimhillse,
cnuas toghtha is iomdha orra,
tolcha tiorma taobhchorra.

21. Triall uaithe as adhbhar doghra,
snoighthe a cúirte clárghorma,
grádh fíre aca uaimse,
míne a slata saoruaisle.

22. A fágbháil is fáth maoithe,
binn foghar a fannghaoithe,
an ghormBhanbha fá bhfill fiodh,
's is binn orlabhra a haibhniodh.

23. Labhra a hén gclúimhgheal gcorcra
ní beag do cheól chodolta :
gan mé aniogh san mhín mhaighrigh !
mo chion don tír thobairghil.

24. Mag Aonghusa nár dhiúlt dán,
céd beannacht uaim tré fhíorghrádh
dá mhíonbhais is dá ghruadh gheal,
dual an díoghrais fa dheireadh.

25. A bhille atá ag triall tar tuinn
go feart Chuinn I Ruairc romhuinn,
a shamhail níor chein a gcorp,
tabhair is beir mo bheannocht.

26. Fear cumainn do char meise
Peadar mo chnú chridheise,
dlighthear dhúin dul ina ucht
do shúil re brugh na mbeannocht.

Beannocht.

Translation.

1. A blessing westward from me to Ireland, smooth land of the progeny of noble Féilim : she is the mother who nursed us ; she is not uncomely to look upon.

2. Westward from Alba of the melodious waterfalls, a blessing from me to Ireland, smooth varied region with smooth plains, an ancient land like to the Land of Promise.

3. A blessing to Patrick's city, Armagh of the wall smooth and soft-sodded, and to royal Derry of the slender streams, a home where learning is most plentiful.

4. To Donegal with sincerity I send a blessing or two again ; pleasant sanctuary of our burial, she methinks it is that has helped my kindred.

5. A blessing to Assaroe of the oars, to the River Sligo and the ancient Moy, and to the tuneful bright haven of the River Bonnet, which surpasses every estuary.

6. A blessing from me to Loch Erne, and to Loch Gill of the cool sward, and to bright Loch Foyle of the wine, with clear and wooded streams.

7. A blessing to them one by one, the estuaries of Ireland ; they hide the strand with produce, it were wrong not to praise them.

8. My full and open blessing to the men of Ulster, save one man ; a compact host that fares well to-day—my blessing is due to them.

9. A blessing to them—'tis no mean cause !—both man and woman and youth, valiant warriors of stainless discipline, the red-speared princes of Connacht.

10. A blessing from me, and that is not strange for me, to the bounteous folk of Munster : shameful that their rule has come to an end, save only the Earl of the Fergus.

11. Likewise, but that the Dark Foreigners are in soft Meath of the tranquil fountains, that rich fair level land of soft soil, I should not forget them in the west.

12. Leinster's host of the lavish bounty, though we have not seen them, noble warriors of triumphant honour, a greeting from me to them.

13. A blessing from me with all good will to the bright ruddy company of crimson cheeks, the young modest throng unequalled ever—the young women of Ireland.

14. From my heart across the western land I send a blessing to the makers of eulogies, folk who beguile all ladies.

15. I must not forget those who unravel genealogical branches; few poets are worthy to be mentioned before them, my heart's love is that company.

16. A blessing westwards over the old sea from the smooth wine-feasting land to those who heal wounds without delay, the royal physicians of Féilim's land.

17. Our blessing in all love to the clerics of Iughoine's land, that courteous company whose decrees are gentle, the wise and pious clergy.

18. A blessing before me—no secret purpose—to the makers of kindly music, and in particular to Ciothruadh; few inspired poets excel him in his gifts.

19. After each of these companies a blessing to the ancient Virgin whose mate was Conn's grandson Cormac, to Ireland of the great brown mantles.

20. Green and flourishing is the grass of the island, thick are her nut-sweet woods, plentiful is choice fruit upon the dry smooth-sided hillocks.

21. To depart from her is a cause of misery, well carved are her blue-timbered courts—I love them truly, smooth are her noble rods.

22. To leave her is ground for weakness, sweet is the sound of her gentle wind—green Banbha enclosed by woods—and sweet is the voice of her rivers.

23. The speech of her birds bright-feathered and ruddy is sleep music enough. O that I were to-day in that smooth land abounding in salmon: hail to the land of bright fountains!

24. Magennis, who never refused a poem, a hundred blessings from me in true love to his smooth hand and bright cheek; zeal is natural in the end.

25. O letter that goest across the wave before me to the grave of Conn O Ruairc—the like of him never took human form—take and carry my blessing.

26. The friend whom I have loved, St. Peter, my heart's treasure, I am bound to go to his bosom in hope of the Mansion of Blessings.

Osborn Bergin.

S. THOMAS AND PROPERTY.

BY J. B. MCLAUGHLIN, O.S.B.

BROADLY speaking, Professor O'Rahilly's interpretation of S. Thomas (in the September number of STUDIES) makes private property to be based rather less on nature and rather more on human positive law. The difference of interpretations may be very slight, and not easy to define in terms that would be accepted by the different interpreters. But it is one of the cases where a slight difference in the foundations makes an enormous difference in the superstructure. If it be true that the foundations really lie a few feet aside from where they were supposed to lie, then we may have to face the collapse and remodelling of the whole building. Professor O'Rahilly writes :—

> Since, then, S. Thomas's defence of private property is based not so much on principles of theoretic right as on facts of social experience, it is clear that the intervening centuries may well have brought into existence new facts capable of modifying his arguments or his conclusions (p. 342).

I.

The account S. Thomas gives of the natural law and the law of nations is this (II., ii., 57, 3) : There is a reason in our nature why certain things should be done. And, therefore, a natural fittingness that they should be done. And where two individuals are concerned, a natural relation of right or of duty between them. These things fall into two classes. In some cases you can see

this natural fittingness by merely considering the two parties as they are (*absolute considerando*). S. Thomas gives two examples—that male and female should mate; that parents should support their offspring. This kind of *jus naturale* is common to us and the lower animals, because they too can apprehend things simply as they are (that this is a female; that this is my offspring).

In other cases you cannot see the natural fittingness of doing the thing until you consider what will follow from it (*secundum aliquid quod ex ipso sequitur; secundum aliquam utilitatem consequentem*). Since beasts cannot consider what will follow, they have no share in this kind of natural law; it is peculiar to man and common to all men. It is the law of nations—*jus gentium*. Of this class also S. Thomas gives two instances—private property; the relation of master and servant (*proprietas possessionum; servitus pertinens ad jus gentium*).

In these cases, when you do consider what will follow from it, you see that there is a reason in nature why the thing should be done, a natural fittingness in doing it; here also, *alio modo, aliquid est naturaliter alteri commensuratum*. This natural fittingness is so obvious (*puta ex propinquo habentia æquitatem*) that all nations discover it and act on it. Not on second thoughts, but on first. There is no inauguration of these institutions; the very natural reason which calls for them brings them into being (*non indigent aliqua speciali institutione, sed ipsa naturalis ratio ea instituit.*—ad 3). These institutions make up the law of nations. (*Quod naturalis ratio inter omnes homines constituit, id apud omnes perœque custoditur, vocaturque jus gentium*).

Are these institutions really natural to man, when their naturalness can only be discovered by looking ahead? Yes; because first what you discover on looking ahead is precisely the fact that they are natural; and secondly, to look ahead is not an unnatural or artificial thing for man to do, but is the proper natural work of reason. (*Con-*

siderare aliquid comparando ad id quod ex ipso sequitur est proprium rationis; et ideo hoc idem est naturale homini secundum rationem naturalem quæ hoc dictat).

Thus the law of nations is given as the second subdivision of the law of nature; the first being that law which we speak of when we say nature teaches men and beasts alike to do certain things. The skeleton of the article (II., ii., 57, 3) makes this clear :—

> Jus, sive justum, naturale est, quod ex sui natura est adæquatum vel commensuratum alteri. Hoc autem potest contingere dupliciter : uno modo . . . a jure autem naturali sic dicto recedit jus gentium ; alio modo . . . et hoc idem est naturale homini . . . vocaturque jus gentium.

For completeness sake, I must mention the third class of cases, where on looking ahead we see a need, but do not see any one obviously natural way of meeting it. Here nature shows that *some* arrangement must be made, but does not show what it is to be. And therefore each nation will deal with it in its own way, and there is no universal law of nations about it, but only the positive law of each country.

We have, therefore, three cases :—

(1) Where there is a natural reason for doing a definite thing, and you see the reason by simply looking at the parties as they are. This gives us natural law.

(2) Where there is a natural reason for a definite course, but you can only see the reason when you consider what will follow from adopting that course and from not adopting it. This gives us the law of nations.

(3) Where there is a natural reason for agreeing on *some* course, but no reason in nature why it should be one course more than another. This gives us national or positive laws. (Cp. II., ii., 57, 2 ad 2.)

II.

In the foregoing teachings, let us look separately at what is said of private property, such as the ownership of a field, which is the example S. Thomas uses (II., ii., 57, 3). It comes in the second class spoken of above. There is a reason in nature why the field should belong to someone and not to someone else. It is *aliquid naturaliter alteri commensuratum secundum aliquid quod ex ipso sequitur*. If you consider what will follow from its belonging or not belonging to an owner in regard to cultivating it and using it in peace, you see that it has a certain fittingness for belonging to one and not to another (*ibid.*). The fittingness is in nature. But it requires reason to see the fittingness (*ib.*). As soon as reason faces the question, the fittingness is obvious (*ex propinquo*) and therefore natural reason dictates this solution to all nations: that they should recognise private ownership (*ib.*, ad 3) from the beginning, and before all statute law (*non indigent aliqua speciali institutione*).

Reason's part in the matter is to see nature's solution and dictate it. This differs from the third class of cases, where reason sees the difficulty and the need of agreeing on some solution, and thereupon the common agreement of a nation gives the force of law to some one out of several possible solutions. There reason *dictates* that some solution be agreed on; it *devises* the actual solution, but does not dictate it—since another would equally serve. But in our case nature devises the solution, and reason dictates it. This seems to account for the phrase Natural Reason in this connection—*ea quæ sunt juris gentium, Naturalis Ratio dictat* (*ib.*, ad 3).

The actual assignment of properties to individual owners is not, of course, done by nature but by accepted arrangements among men: *secundum jus naturale non est distinctio possessionum, sed magis secundum condictum humanum quod pertinet ad jus positivum.* (II., ii., 66, 2, ad 1).

It may be asked whether in this teaching S. Thomas is really classifying ownership and the rest of the law of nations as natural law or as positive law? It seems to me that the answer is this. The passage last quoted shows that the actual distribution of properties is undoubtedly made by positive law. But the law of nations, including ownership, is part of the natural law. The law of nations differs from the natural law by omitting that portion which affects beasts as well as men. It consists of that portion of the natural law which can only be discovered by reason looking ahead. I think that is a fair summary of q. 57., art. 3.

As regards private ownership in particular and the natural law, we have this teaching:—The natural law does not dictate that everything must be held in common and nothing taken as private property (art. 66, 2, ad 1). A field has by nature a fittingness for belonging to one and not another (57, 3). To see this fittingness and act on it is natural to man; natural reason dictates it as the law of nations (*ib.*). The natural law does not divide up properties; this is done by arrangement. This division of properties, therefore, is not against the natural law, but is an addition to the natural law devised by human reason (66, 2, ad 1). It seems to me that this amounts to saying that, while the division of properties is done by positive law, the right to own comes from natural law It is equivalent to Pope Leo's saying: "Every man has by nature the right to possess property as his own."

III.

I do not think Professor O'Rahilly would accept the above account of S. Thomas's teaching. His own account of it is very different. To me his description of private ownership is the description of a positive law, of the third class described above, and not of part of the law of nations; and this description he attributes to S. Thomas:—

He held that it was by human consent, given for weighty reasons and expressed in positive law, that the functions of production

and distribution [*potestas procurandi et dispensandi*] were entrusted to individuals (p. 340).

The authority for this is the above-quoted teaching that the *distinctio possessionum* (which I take to be the division of properties) is arranged by positive law. To say that human consent entrusted something to individuals for weighty reasons and by positive law is very different from saying that natural reason dictates to all nations the law of recognising ownership because it is so obviously founded in our nature. The thought that ownership is, in S. Thomas's view, *not* founded on nature recurs throughout the article :—

It is only property in this generic sense, abstracting from collective and individual forms, that is, according to S. Thomas, of natural right (p. 338).

But, unlike many subsequent doctrinaires, he did not convert an empirical fact into a natural right (p. 339).

Another recurring idea is that S. Thomas justifies private property on social rather than individual grounds —*i.e.* as a need of the community and not as a right of the individual.

Add to this the view of S. Thomas already given, that individual control over production and distribution is in the nature of a social trust (p. 351).

We can discern in [S. Thomas's exposition] the permanently valuable principle that any defence of the existing mechanism of production and distribution must be grounded on solid expediency and communal interests (p. 343).

. . . or if an alternative social and industrial system were devised which would not lead to worse conditions . . . then S. Thomas's arguments for the necessity of individual control would no longer hold (pp. 341-2).

While, then, S. Thomas admits, on social grounds, the individual control of production and distribution (p. 345).

Whereas it seems to me that the *opportunitatem colendi* and the *pacificum usum agri* of art. 57, 3, mean the right of the individual to gain his livelihood in peace, and are mentioned as his justification for taking possession of the

field ; and that natural reason dictates to all nations that they should recognise his right to do so, as they recognise his right to marry or enter service.

Again, Professor O'Rahilly seems to have overlooked the distinction between *licitum* and *necessarium*, or else the force of *etiam*. S. Thomas wrote that in regard to the *potestas procurandi et dispensandi :* Licitum est quod homo propria possideat ; est etiam necessarium ad humanam vitam. Private ownership is lawful ; likewise it is necessary. The two statements are separate. In the society in which S. Peter and Ananias lived it was not necessary for Ananias to own private property ; but S. Peter assured him that he had a perfect right to keep it.

S. Thomas's proof that it is lawful we have seen above ; in this article (66, 2) he deals with lawfulness in the answers to objections ; the body of the article is taken up with necessity, the reasons why private property is necessary for human life. These reasons would have no force in a sinless society ; so that it is a fair inference that the *necessity* for private property dates only from the fall of man.

Now Professor O'Rahilly has taken S. Thomas to say that private property is lawful only *because* it is necessary. So that if it cease to be necessary, it will cease to be lawful.

> This is the essential point of St. Thomas's teaching. Private property, so far as pertains to production and distribution, is a matter not of absolute abstract right but of experienced necessity (p. 341).

Rather, its lawfulness is a matter of absolute right ; its necessity is a matter of experience.

> Private property is not to be assumed *a priori* as self-evident and irrevocable, it can be defended only on the ground that the alternative is less desirable (*ib.*).

Here is the confusion completed : the grounds of its necessity are taken to be the only defence of its lawfulness. We have seen that S. Thomas bases its lawfulness on the fact that natural reason dictates to all nations that they

shall recognise private property. Is this dictate revocable? Again :—

> Since, then, S. Thomas's defence of private property is based not so much on principles of theoretic right as on facts of social experience, it is clear that the intervening centuries may well have brought into existence new facts capable of modifying his arguments or his conclusion (p. 342).

This means that nowadays S. Thomas might not defend private property [as lawful], because perhaps it has ceased to be necessary. There is no connection between the two.[1]

My fear is that Professor O'Rahilly's article has by its authority and weight of learning established the belief that S. Thomas viewed private property not as a natural right but as an enactment of positive law;[2] instituted to meet social needs and not as an acknowledgement of the individual's right; lawful only as long as it is necessary; and that, "had he deemed it necessary or opportune, S. Thomas was quite prepared to examine or advocate any scheme of social reorganisation by which his democratic views on private property might be embodied in the lives and homes of the people" (p. 354).

This means that we are to be prepared to accept schemes of social reorganisation which abolish private property. But how if private property is a natural right? Any system is intolerable which abolishes a natural right of the individual, whether it be the right to marry, or to control his children's education, or to own property. Of course, *if* S. Thomas denied the natural right, we shall have to face the fact. But I wish I could convince Professor O'Rahilly that he has misread S. Thomas.

J. B. McLaughlin.

---

[1] Also, if original sin made private property necessary, can any new facts modify that necessity?

[2] [The principal question at issue between our two contributors would seem to be the interpretation of the term *ius gentium*. In a note to his article on "The Democracy of S. Thomas" (March, 1920, p. 8) Professor O'Rahilly wrote: "This raises the very important point of the meaning of the Scholastic term *ius gentium*, with which I propose to deal elsewhere." He deals with this point in the following article.—Editor.]

THE LAW OF NATIONS.

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED O'RAHILLY, M.A.

(1) Roman Law.

IN the later days of the Roman Republic the Praetor Peregrinus acted as judge for Italian merchants and other strangers whose disputes had to be settled in Rome. In this praetorian court there grew up a code of jurisprudence, a loose collection of general principles of equity, largely untechnical and widely applicable. It is uncertain whether this law was originally merely a summary of the general customs of the Mediterranean world, or simply that portion of the positive law of Rome which, being in accordance with the private law of other nations, was applicable to the peregrini (probably all Roman subjects) who sought justice from the Praetor. It seems clear, however, that the technical term *ius gentium* (law of nations) had from the very start a theoretical and philosophical implication; it did not merely designate the precedents and principles upheld in a particular Roman court; it was employed to denote certain simple and universally accepted maxims of right which constituted a body of law approximating to the ideal natural code of the Stoics. This is the meaning of *ius gentium* not only in Cicero's writings,[1] where the term first occurs, but also in the Corpus Iuris Civilis. Thus Gaius, writing about the middle of the second century, says that the laws and customs of any people can be analysed into (1) *ius civile* or state-law "set up by each people for itself," and (2) *ius gentium, commune omnium hominum ius*, world-law

[1] Cicero (*De officiis* iii., 17, 69) plainly equates *lex naturae* and *ius gentium*. *Cf.* also *Tusc.* i., 13, 30: Consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est. In the phrase "natura id est iure gentium" (*De officiis* iii., 5, 23) it has been suggested by those who take a different view (*e.g.*, Krueger, *Histoire des sources du droit romain*, 1894, p. 55, n. 2) that the words are either a gloss or else instead of *id est* we should read *et.*

"set up by natural reason amongst all men."[1] This world-law is, according to Gaius, not only the common element in all particular systems of legislation and custom, but is the spontaneous outcome of natural reason, "conformable to natural equity," and, in a word, synonymous with "natural law."[2]

Yet side by side with this identification of natural law and world-law we find embedded in the Corpus Iuris the precise statement, made by three lawyers about the beginning of the third century, that liberty is of natural law, while servitude or domination was introduced by world-law.[3] We have here the first clear indication of a difference between the two terms which was destined to be developed by the Schoolmen. Still clearer is this quotation from the Institutes of Justinian (i., 2, 2): "The *ius gentium* is common to the entire human race. For, owing to the exigencies of custom and the needs of mankind, the nations set up certain things for themselves. Wars broke out, there followed captivity and servitude, which are contrary to natural law—for by natural law from the beginning all men were born equal. From this *ius gentium* also nearly all forms of contract were introduced." In this passage we have the germ of the later theory that world-law is an adaptation of natural law to corrupt humanity. But it is sufficient for the moment to observe that the two terms which elsewhere are treated as identical are here sharply contrasted. And so, when the study of Roman law was revived, the early jurists and schoolmen

---

[1] Gaius, *Inst.* i., 1 (p. 3, Krueger—Studemund); also *Digest* i., 1, 9. The version "world-law" is preferable to "law of nations," which nowadays means international law.

[2] Hae quoque res quae traditione nostrae fiunt, *iure gentium* nobis acquiruntur. Nihil enim tam *conveniens est naturali aequitati* quam voluntatem domini volentis rem suam in alium transferre ratam haberi.—*Digest*, 41.1, 9 (§3). Apparet quaedam *naturali iure* alienari, qualia sunt ea quae traditione alienantur.—Gaius, *Inst.* ii., 65. He also says that the ius gentium is the primitive law of mankind (in the golden age): Antiquius ius gentium cum ipso genere humano proditum est.—*Digest*, 41.1, 1.

[3] *Digest*, 12.6, 64 (Tryphoninus); *Digest* i., 5, 4 (Florentinus); *Digest* i., 1, 4 (Ulpian).

found no precise definitions or explanations of *ius naturae* and *ius gentium*.[1]

(2) Ulpian's Definition.

The ambiguity was still further increased by an unfortunate statement of Ulpian, which is not only philosophically untenable but also in contradiction with other pronouncements of the same lawyer. Influenced, no doubt, by the wide meaning of the Stoic *physis* or *natura*, and by the Cynic-Stoic idealising and moralising of animal life, Ulpian defined natural law as "that which nature taught all animals," *e.g.*, the rearing of offspring; in contrast to which the *ius gentium* is applicable exclusively to mankind.[2] This would be a valid juristic distinction if Aesop's Fables were true, that is, if animals were formally as well as materially capable of ethical conduct. As it is, however, Ulpian's distinction merely served to spread confusion between the domains of physics and ethics.[3] This curious theory, that world-law is the specific human sub-division of nature-law, was fortunately ignored by S. Isidore, Gratian and the early Canonists.[4] It would probably have been regarded by all the Scholastics as an aberration of the Legists, had not S. Thomas, always tolerant and synthetic, sought to give an acceptable interpretation to Ulpian's remark.

Natural law, he says, is used in several different

[1] *Cf.* the Glossa Ordinaria on *Digest* i., 1, 3 (quod natura): Nota ius naturale quatuor modis dici—prima lex mosaica, secundo instinctus naturae, tertio ius gentium, quarto ius praetorium.

[2] *Justinian's Institutes* i.2 (procem.); also *Digest* i., 1, 3. This is repeated by the civilian jurists, *e.g.*, Azo and Bracton—Maitland, *Select Passages from the Works of Bracton and Azo*, 1894, pp. 35, 38.

[3] Witness the Glossa Ordinaria: Animalia omnia iure naturali regi; quod regimen est in eo quod avis volat, quod piscis natat.—On *Digest* i., 1, 3 (omnium animalium).

[4] S. Isidore: "Ius naturale est commune omnium nationum, et quod ubique instinctu naturae non constitutione aliqua habeatur." Ius gentium is so called "quod eo iure omnes fere gentes utuntur."—*Etym.* v., 4 and 6; Migne, P.L. 82, 199; also Gratian, *Decretum*, p. 1, d. 1, c. 7 and 9. Rufinus, the first commentator on Gratian, refuses to take any notice of the "legistica traditio."—*Summa Decretorum*, ed. Singer 1902, p. 6. But Hostiensis (*Summa aurea*, procem., col. 5, Venice, 1574) and Bonaventure (4 *Sent.*, d. 33, a. 1, q. 2) repeat Ulpian's definition.

senses, because nature is capable of several interpretations. (1) Nature may mean an intrinsic or innate principle. Or (2) it may refer to a higher principle ; thus the natural motion of the elements is induced by the influence of the celestial bodies ; so also the divine law, impressed by God, is said to be natural. (3) It may be the matter and not the principle of the law which is natural. " And because nature is distinguished from reason, by which man is man, therefore, taking natural law in this strictest sense, what pertains to man, even though it be dictated by natural reason, is not said to be of natural law."[1] In this passage S. Thomas is merely dispassionately enumerating the senses in which (1) the Stoics and Cicero, (2) S. Isidore and Gratian, (3) Ulpian and other jurists, use the term natural law. He is engaged in explaining the terminology before answering the objection that monogamy, not being the rule among animals, cannot be of natural law. To this he replies that polygamy is against natural law in the first and second sense, though it is not against nature-law in the sense of Ulpian : a plain proof that he does not adopt this last sense as his own. Here, as elsewhere, he makes it clear that what certain jurists call *ius gentium*, *i.e.*, those moral principles which are implied by man's nature as such, is really a part of the natural law.[2]

[1] *Suppl.*, q. 65, a. 1, ad 4 ; or 4 *Sent.*, d. 33, q. 1, a. 1, ad 4. It is quite inaccurate to cite the latter portion—section (3) translated in the text—as if it represented S. Thomas's own view, least of all to the exclusion of (1) and (2) : as is done by Cathrein, *Philosophia moralis*, 1915[9], p. 227, §308. As a matter of fact, in the body of the article S. Thomas says that natural law applies *only* to man, other animals merely having *aestimatio naturalis* or instinct. Which shows the danger of partial quotations torn from their context.

[2] Thus *Ethica* v., 12, referring to Aristotle v., 10 (7), 1134*b*, 18 : Illud autem quod consequitur propriam inclinationem naturae humanae, scilicet ut homo est rationale animal, vocant iuristae ius gentium. . . . Utrumque autem horum comprehenditur sub iusto naturali prout hic a philosopho accipitur. That is the Aristotelian *politikon dikaion*—and the Scholastic natural law—includes both the nature-law and the world-law of Ulpian ; an obvious remark repeated by later writers, *e.g.*, Suarez, *De legibus* ii., 19, 1 and 17, 3. It shows extraordinary misunderstanding to cite this as proving that ius gentium, as used by S. Thomas himself, is part of the natural law ; *e.g.*, by Cathrein, *op. cit.* ; Meyer, *Inst. iuris naturalis* i. (1906[2]), 484, §572.

This theory of Ulpian reappears in a much quoted and misquoted article of the Summa. S. Thomas decides here that the *ius gentium* is different from the *ius naturale.* What S. Thomas really means by world-law will be considered presently. Reference is now made to this article only because in it he once more deals with Ulpian's distinction and also makes an ingenious effort to give it a satisfactory meaning by identifying it with Aristotelianism. Natural law, he says, concerns the intrinsic harmony and purpose of things,[1] *i.e.*, the primary functions of nature which animals execute instinctively and men consciously. World-law, on the contrary, deals with a certain extrinsic or consequential fittingness which is arrived at as the result of a reasoning process. The attempt to include animals in this scheme is more charitable to Ulpian than convincing to the reader. For obviously, as S. Thomas himself admits when dealing with monogamy,[2] natural law covers those specifically human functions and destinies which—unlike the examples he adduces : generation and nourishment of offspring—man does not share even analogically and materially with the brutes.[3] Moreover, the ratiocination establishing the *ius gentium* must be a far different process from that working of the *naturalis ratio* which dictates the law of nature. It can hardly be supposed that S. Thomas expends a whole article in emphasising a mere subjective distinction, in differentiating world-law from natural law, not by means of any objective

[1] *Summa,* 2.2, q. 57, a. 3 : commensuratio secundum absolutam sui considerationem. On this Aristotelian phraseology see Von Hertling, *Historische Beiträge zur Philosophie,* 1914, p. 83.

[2] Hoc modo matrimonium est naturale, quia ratio naturalis ad ipsum inclinat.—*Suppl.,* q. 41, a. 1. Pluralitas ergo uxorum [est] . . . contra ius naturale primo modo acceptum. . . . Quia natura dictat hoc cuilibet animali secundum modum convenientem speciei suae.—*Suppl.,* q. 65, a. 1, ad. 4.

[3] Sylvius, in loc. (*Commentarii,* 1697[4], p. 274*b*) : Advertendum autem quod B. Thomas hic sequatur iurisconsultos . . . Theologi et cum illis B. Thomas saepe aliter loquuntur tam de iure naturali quam de iure gentium. S. Thomas was followed by a few writers, *e.g.,* Sylvester Prierias, Summa (1518), s. v. lex, ed. 1552, ii., 133*b*. But most subsequent Scholastics entirely reject Ulpian's view. See Suarez's attack : *De legibus* ii., 17, 5-7.

moral criterion or objectively valid characteristic, but by the duration and difficulty of the mental operations whereby we arrive at their recognition.[1] If at the end of either process of thought—whether "absolute apprehension" or reasoned "consideration by comparison with consequences"—we arrive at identically valid, binding, irrevocable, moral laws, then the difference in the method of human discovery of those laws is ethically and objectively irrelevant.[2] It has been left to some comparatively recent writers to suggest that S. Thomas, failing to perceive this irrelevancy, laboriously insisted on calling the same ethical concept by two different names, *ius naturale* and *ius gentium*.

(3) Positive Law.

It must be admitted, however, that the terminology of this article of the Summa is rather ambiguous, owing to S. Thomas's well-meaning attempt to make Aristotle, Gaius and Ulpian speak the same language. It is therefore necessary to interpret this text of S. Thomas by the light of other passages and with the help of the tradition of the School. Amid many differences of detail there is one clear thesis which is accepted with practical unanimity by the Scholastics: The *ius gentium* is positive human law. According to S. Thomas positive law derives its essential validity from human consent (ex condicto sive ex communi placito), and "is divided into world-law and state-law."[3] This unambiguous declaration is strengthened by the

[1] In this same article (2 2, q. 57, a. 3) S. Thomas also unfortunately seeks to give a tolerable meaning to the *naturalis ratio* on which Gaius based his *ius gentium*, by identifying it with the reasoning whereby we establish the world-law—as if Gaius admitted *ius naturale* distinct from *ius gentium*.

[2] Non oportet ius gentium cum naturali confundere, nec propter solas illationes etiam plures ita vocare ius illud quod simpliciter naturale est. Nam discursus non excludit veram et naturalem necessitatem praecepti sic cogniti; et quod discursus sit per plures vel pauciores illationes magis vel minus notas, valde accidentarium est.—Suarez, *De legibus* ii., 18, 8.

[3] 2.2, q. 57, a. 2. Dividitur ius positivum in ius gentium et ius civile.—1.2, q. 95, a. 4.

answers which on two separate occasions he makes to the objection that the *ius gentium* is not positive law; the very placing of this statement as an objection shows, of course, without further proof, that he does not agree with it. His first reply is as follows:

> The *ius gentium* is indeed in some way natural to man as a rational being, in so far as it is derived from the natural law by means of a conclusion which is not very remote from its principles—hence it is that men easily *consented* thereto. Still it is distinguished from natural law, *especially* from that which is common to all animals.[1]

The second time the objection recurs it is based on the argument that world-law cannot be positive since there never was a world-assembly to establish it by common consent. "Since world-law is dictated by natural reason," he replies,[2] "its justice being easily deduced (ex propinquo habentia aequitatem), therefore it is that it does not need any special institution save that of natural reason." World-law, in other words, is largely customary and unwritten. This is the traditional thesis of the School. A few typical quotations will suffice:—

> World-law [says F. de Castro Palao[3]], which lies between natural law and state-law, is neither necessarily implanted by nature nor originated by any special ruler or kingdom; but it was introduced by almost all nations, not in writing but by usage and custom. . . Hence world-law, though it is in conformity with natural reason and is based thereon, is proximately and immediately positive and human, for it is originated by men who have thus established it by usage and custom
>
> The precepts of world-law [declares Suarez[4]] were introduced by men through their will and consent, whether in the whole community of men or in the greater part.

---

[1] 1.2, q. 95, a. 4, ad 1. Sylvius comments (*Commentarii in totam secundam secundae*, 1697[4], p. 275*b*): Quibus verbis agnoscit ius gentium esse ex hominum consensu seu placito.

[2] 2.2, q. 57, a. 3, ad 3. Arauxo in loc. (*Lecturae*, 1638, p. 557*a*): Ibi nomine specialis institutionis intellegit illam quae fit immediate ex unius aut alterius populi beneplacito a quo dependet et constituitur ius civile.

[3] *De legibus* i, 3 (*Opus morale* i., 116*a*).

[4] *De legibus* ii., 17, 8.

Positive human law [according to Sylvius[1]] is divided into world-law, canon law and state-law . . Positive law is that which, without being from nature, is posited and constituted by someone possessing authority. . . . Law founded by human authority is called human law. World-law is human law used by nearly all the world, *i.e.* such as, without being from nature, was introduced by the common consent of peoples, whether it be observed among all or most nations. Such are the division of goods, individual possession of things, the principle that unpossessed objects cede to the first occupier, the non-violation of ambassadors, the enslavement of captives in war.

World-law is more clearly and accurately defined thus [says Neubauer[2]]: a free convention of peoples through tacit agreement, introduced by long-continued custom, to obtain and preserve the mutual intercourse and happiness of social life.

Many similar citations might be given. What has been quoted suffices to illustrate the practically unanimous teaching of the Scholastics that the *ius gentium* is positive human law, largely consuetudinary, deriving its authority from human consent.[3] Even the few writers who prefer to say that world-law is rather a mean between natural and positive law than actually positive,

---

[1] On 2.2, q. 57, a. 2: *Commentarii*, 1697[4], p. 272*b*.

[2] *De legibus*, 36: *Theologia Wiceburgensis*, Paris 1880[3], v. 237.

[3] This is held by the following among others: Denis the Carthusian, *Summa fidei catholicae* ii. 101, 4; Covarruvias, *Rel. c. peccatum de reg.* xi. 4 (*Opera*, Francf. 1599-98, i. 538 *a*.): propter reipublicae utilitatem . . . fere omnium hominum consensu; Soto, *De iustitia* i. 5, 4 and iii. 1, 3; Bannez on 2.2, q. 57, a. 3; Molina, *De iustitia* tr. 1, disp. 5 (i. 14): ius humanum hominum voluntate introductum; Valentia, 1.2, disp. 7, q. 5, punct. 2 (Commentaria, 1609, ii. 850); Vazquez, 1.2, d. 157, c. 4, n. 24; Salas, *De legibus* ii. 3, 21; Arauxo, 1.2, q. 92, disp. 1, sect. 6, diff. 3 (*Lecturae*, 1638, p. 554 *b*.); Voit, *Theologia moralis*, 1769[6] i. 98 (§ 137): ius gentium respicit obiecta arbitraria in ordine ad maius commodum societatis humanae; Reding, *Theologia scholastica*, 1687, ii. 363 *a*.; Lacroix, *Theologia moralis*, ed. Ven. 1720, i. 58 (*de legibus* c. 1, dub. 2, § 606): vim obligandi habet per liberam consensionem; Michel, *Theologia canonico-moralis* (1707-12) i. 151; F. Schmier, *Iurisprudentia canonico-civilis*, ed. Avenione 1738, i. 87; Billuart, *De iure*, diss. 1, a. 3 (*Summa*, Paris, 1895, vi. 12 *a*.); Dmowski, *Inst. phil.*, 1843[4], ii. 174; Schmalzgrueber, *Ius ecclesiasticum*, diss. prœm. iv. 126 and 129 (Rome, 1843, i. pp. 59, 61); Solieri, *Iuris publici eccles. elementa*, 1900, pp. 21 f. I have also verified this thesis in Conradus, Victoria, Salmanticenses, Salon, Aragon, Lessius, Bonacina, Antoine, Viva, Reiffenstuel, Wiestner, Schwarz, P. Schmier, Huth, Roselli and many more.

do not thereby mean to deny that it owes its validity to human consent.[1] Moreover, there is not a single one of these writers who is not convinced that this was also the teaching of S. Thomas.[2]

(4) Constitutional World-Law.

We are now in a better position for examining what S. Thomas means by the ratiocination on which world-law is based. There are two modes, he says,[3] in which human positive law is derived from natural law: (1) by way of conclusion, as in the case of world-law; (2) by way of concrete determination, as in state-law. What is meant by determination—for example, the actual specification of a penalty or assignment of a contribution—is quite clear. But it is not so easy to analyse or illustrate the inference or conclusion on which world-law rests. Indeed it is most probable that S. Thomas, like all pioneers, failed to carry his own analysis far enough and omitted to make a vital distinction which first clearly appeared in the pages of Suarez. A few commentators regarded S. Thomas (in the article just cited) as merely speaking according to the language of the jurists. But the majority declared that the conclusions in question

---

[1] Thus Bellarmine, *De clericis* 29 (*Opera*, Naples 1857, ii. 206): Ius vero gentium partim est naturale, partim positivum; quia pendet quidem ab humana constitutione, *i.e.* a consensu omnium gentium, sed non pendet ab auctoritate principis vel magistratus particularis. Similarly Miranda, *Manuale praelatorum*, tom 2, q. 24, a. 2, concl. 5 (1630, p. 204): Ius gentium nec mere est de iure naturali nec mere de iure positivo. . . . Ius gentium est ex hominum beneplacito institutum, quo fit ut respublica, iusta existente atque interveniente causa, potest illud abrogare et derogare.

[2] Sometimes after very close study and analysis of the relevant texts, *e.g.*, J. Patuzzi, O.P., *Ethica christiana sive theol. moralis* (de legibus iii. 1, 1) ed. 1790, i. 61: Ut in tam ampla significatione ius gentium sumi posse minime diffitear, tamen pressius atque in arctiore sensu accipiendum existimo, adeo ut excludat tum leges naturales tum positivas civiles sitque speciale ius ab hisce distinctum. *Hanc sententiam docuisse S. Thomam certum mihi est, eius mente accuratius expensa in pluribus locis ubi de hoc iure verba facit.*

[3] 1.2, q. 95, a. 2 and 4.

are not necessary but only probable.[1] This is implied by S. Thomas himself, for he regards the result of such an inferential process as contingent and mutable and as requiring consent and agreement. "Human law," he says (1. 2, q. 97, a. 1), "may be justly changed owing to two causes: (1) on the part of reason, for it seems natural for human reason to advance gradually from imperfect to perfect; . . . (2) on the part of the subjects, for a law can be rightly changed owing to changes in men's conditions." Thus the ingerence of human reason does not necessarily make such ethico-legal conclusions absolute and certain. That is why they are not only liable to revision but require human consent for their validation.[2]

Now this seems clearly to imply that these deductions must somehow involve a contingent or variable supposition; they must be based on a doubtful or hypothetical premiss as well as on some principle of natural law. To this view Suarez makes the objection that in such a case the conclusion would also be of natural law. As examples he mentions the observance of a vow or promise,

---

[1] Quae doctrina . . . licet a Conrado intelligatur esse data iuxta modum loquendi iuristarum, melius cum Soto et aliis intellegimus praecepta iuris gentium vocari conclusiones iuris naturalis, non absolute et per necessariam illationem, sed comparatione facta ad determinationem iuris civilis et privati.—Suarez, *De legibus*, ii. 20, 2. Intellegi debet de iis quae ex lege naturali derivantur tamquam conclusiones non omnino necessariae, sed valde probabiles; et ab hominum usu seu receptione dependent ad hoc ut vim obligandi sortiantur; cum alioquin non versentur circa materiam homini simpliciter necessariam in ordine ad ipsius finem.—Sylvius on 1.2, q. 94, a. 4: *Commentarii*, 1696[4], p. 521 *a*. Also Bellarmine, *De clericis* 29: Opera (1857) ii. 205.

[2] De facili in huiusmodi [conclusiones] homines *consenserunt*.—1.2, q. 95, a. 4, ad 1. Secundum ius naturale non est distinctio possessionum, sed magis secundum humanum *condictum*. . . . Unde proprietas possessionum non est contra ius naturale, sed iuri naturali superadditur per *adinventionem rationis* humanae.—2.2, q. 66, a. 2, ad 1. Distinctio possessionum et servitus non sunt inductae a natura sed per hominum *rationem*,—1.2, q. 94, a. 5, ad 3. The reference to slavery as due to 'reason' is quite decisive proof that a 'conclusion' may be entirely extirpated by human consent. Obligatio iuris gentium non oritur ex sola ratione sine aliquo modo obligationis humanae saltem per generalem consuetudinem introductae.—Suarez, *De legibus* ii. 20 6.

obedience to masters, the prohibition of theft and simony. These are admittedly of natural law; yet they suppose certain voluntary acts or contingent institutions—vows, slavery, private property, the consecration of some article. "Therefore," says Suarez,[1] "though the conclusion follows only if the supposition holds concerning the matter of the precept, yet if the inference is evident from clear principles, such a conclusion pertains to natural law and not to world-law. Hence that world-law may be distinguished from natural law, it is necessary that, even supposing such matter, [the formal conclusion] should follow by a sequence which is not evident but less certain, so that human decision and moral congruence rather than necessity may intervene."

We must, then, distinguish between the positing of a contingent moral and legal fact and the resulting obligation, between institution and observance. The latter is of natural law, it is only the former which is of positive law. "Though private property is not a precept of natural law," Suarez points out,[2] "yet after it has been instituted and properties have been assigned, natural law prohibits theft or the unlawful receiving of what belongs to another." In connection with another traditionally included precept of the *ius gentium*, the non-violation of envoys, Suarez makes a similar, more detailed analysis:[3]

> Although, after the admission of envoys under an implied pact, it is against natural law not to respect their immunity, for it is contrary to justice and due fidelity, yet this supposition, and this pact under such a condition, was introduced by world-law.

---

[1] *De legibus* ii. 17, 9.

[2] *De legibus* ii. 14, 17. Cf. Billuart, *De iure* diss. 4, a. 1 (*Summa*, Paris, 1895, vi. 58): Ius naturae prohibet rem auferri alterius, quovis iure illam possideat. Hence the untenability of the argument: Observance of the rights of property is of natural law, just as theft is against it; therefore [the institution of] private property is of natural law.

[3] *De legibus* ii. 19, 7.

The same consideration will apply to any contract or intercourse, in which three factors can be distinguished :

(1) The particular mode of contract. This ordinarily pertains to state-law and often, the law not being opposed, can be fixed by decision of the contracting parties.

(2) Observance of the contract after it has been completed. This, as is clear, pertains to natural law.

(3) Freedom of contract and intercourse with men who are not enemies. This is of world-law, for natural law of itself does not oblige thereto. For one state might live by itself and refuse intercourse even with another friendly state. But by world-law it was established that intercourse is free, and world-law would be violated if such were prohibited without reasonable cause.

Except for one point which will be noted presently, this analysis is perfect as applied to certain social schemes and arrangements of humanity. Their institution is due to world-law, their concrete details and working-out are determined by state-law, their observance after foundation is prescribed by natural law.

The *ius gentium*, according to this, is constitutional world-law. It is concerned solely with setting up certain world-wide social institutions such as private property and, we may add, capitalism. This setting up is, of course, not a definite chronological event, for as yet at least there is no world-parliament ; world-law, in other words, is customary and unwritten, but by no means unreal. The legal validity of such institutions depends essentially on the tacit or formal consent of mankind ; needless to say, there may be a moral obligation to yield such consent. But so long as such institutions validly exist, they claim our allegiance in virtue of natural law. It is owing to the absence of this distinction that confusion —S. Thomas himself is not exempt—occurs in expositions and explanations of world-law. A statement may be correct when interpreted as referring to institution, and

wrong when taken as applying to observance.[1] It is admitted by S. Thomas and the Scholastics that the institution of private property is of world-law; they also admit that its observance is of natural law. Thus implicitly at least they hold that the *ius gentium* is—to use a convenient formula—constitutional world-law.

Reverting, then, to St. Thomas's statement, that world-law is added to natural law by human reasoning and consent, we can free it from all obscurity. "To world-law," he says (1. 2, q. 95, a. 4), "pertain all those things which are derived from natural law as conclusions from principles; such as just buying and selling and other such like without which men cannot live together—which living together is of natural law, for man is naturally sociable." The principle of natural law in this case is human social co-existence; the "conclusion," *i.e.*, the practical deduction which in given concrete circumstances men draw from the law of sociability, is the institution of certain types of social and economic intercourse; without which—so it is reasoned with probability—social life is impracticable; the observance of which, so long as the institution holds, is of natural law.

(5) International Law.

On this last text of the *Summa* Sylvius makes a comment which will serve to illustrate a defect in the analysis of Suarez. "There is no difficulty," he says,[2] "in the fact that the holy doctor adduces as examples

[1] Hence sometimes the difficulty of saying whether a particular author correctly or incorrectly describes the *ius gentium*. Toletus on 2.2, q. 57, a. 3 (*In summam theologiae enarratio*, ed. Paria, ii. 241) and Wiggers on 1.2, q. 95, a. 4, n. 9 (*Commentaria*, 1634[2], p. 332), who take world-law as prescribing what is necessary, not absolutely but conditionally and by supposition, seem to be correct; for they are referring to institutions. Whereas Zigliara is thinking of observance and maintenance of an institution (*e.g.* private property) when he says: Ius gentium formaliter sumptum non est neque lex naturae neque lex positiva, sed infertur ex principio absoluto naturae et ex aliquo facto universali quidem sed in se contingenti.—*Phil. moralis*, 1912[15], p. 126.

[2] Sylvius on 1.2, q. 95, a. 4; *Commentarii*, 1696,[4] p. 521 *b*.

of world-law just exchange (buying and selling) and such like which seem to pertain to natural law. For though it be of natural law that whatever exchange does take place should take place justly, still it is not of natural law that exchange should take place between men of different nations; this is of world-law." It would seem from this that Sylvius, following Suarez, regarded the institution of exchange and intercourse as of natural law when between individuals within a nation, but as of world-law when international. The particular instance—namely, economic exchange—need not be here considered. But the distinction emphasised by Suarez in connection with it is extremely interesting as showing the transition from *ius gentium* to what is now called international law. "There are two ways," says Suarez,[1] "in which a thing is said to be of world-law. (1) Because it is the law which all peoples and nations ought to observe between themselves (*inter se*). (2) Because it is a law which all individual states or kingdoms observe within themselves (*intra se*), and by similarity and analogy is called world-law. But it is the first kind which seems to me most properly to contain world-law as really distinct from state-law." It is declarations such as these that have rightly merited for Suarez his claim to be one of the founders of international jurisprudence. And yet there is reason to believe that the merging of the *ius gentium* in international law has been a distinct loss to Catholic philosophy.

The very term 'international' law is redolent of that disintegrating philosophy which refuses to regard either nation or humanity as natural law-creating entities; if we were consistent, we should also speak of state legislation as inter-individual law. Thus even our phraseology bears witness to our loss of faith in human solidarity and in the reality of world-law. Not of course that this was the view of the great Schoolmen, for whom

[1] *De legibus* ii., 19,8. Cf. ii. 20, 7.

the Church was a living world-wide reality and the Empire still a unifying influence on men's political ideals. "The whole world," says Francis of Vitoria, "which is in some way one commonwealth, has the power of making just and suitable laws for all, such as are in the *ius gentium*. Hence those who violate the *ius gentium*, either in peace or war, sin mortally." "The human race," says Suarez, "though divided into various peoples and kingdoms, has a unity which is not only specific but also, as it were, political and moral. . . . Each complete community is also in a sense a member of this universe so far as it pertains to the human race."[1] Hence world-law is literally the law of the world, the law of nations regarded as forming the aggregate of humanity. The very title *ius gentium*, law of nations, shows that it includes more than law *between* nations; it envisages law not as relationships between autonomous disparate bodies but as moral precepts governing mankind as such; it is intra-world law rather than inter-national law.[2]

This is really the only theory which not only gives an account of present facts, but prepares for future ideals. The Scholastic view of law, and especially of consuetudinary law, enables us to see how far more deeply interconnected nations are than the very meagre and formal, and often very trivial, code of international agreements and laws seems to imply. If we look deeper we shall see that the relationship or community of peoples is far more dependent on, and much more clearly demonstrated by, world-wide social and economic institutions such as private property, wage-system, capitalism. To deal with

[1] Victoria, *Rel. theol.* iii. 21. Suarez, *De legibus*, ii. 20, 8. Cf. Martinez, *Commentaria super primam secundae*, q. 90, a. 3, dub. 4 (1637, iii. 26*a*.): Haec potestas primo fuit in toto genere humana ex natura rei et forsitan modo durat.

[2] I have suggested above that the *ius gentium* should be restricted to constitutional world-law. For owing to the absence of any formal legislating world-assembly, it is only fundamental constitutional principles of society which can be regarded as having effective super-national ratification and validity. Much of what is termed international law—*e.g.*, postal and coinage agreements, and all "private international law"—is merely the concurrent agreement or coincidence of several state legislatures and governments.

the externalities of formal international law, while neglecting the inner and vital fact of this constitutional world-law based on tradition and custom, is to content oneself with superficiality. It is only by a reversion to, and an elaboration of, the Schoolmen's law-of-nations that we shall succeed in analysing the realities of the world situation. Only thus, too, can we hope to solve adequately the ideals of humanity expressed by the attempt at a real league of nations (*i.e.*, the effort to extend, improve and systematise the *ius gentium* by changing it from custom into formal law) and by the uprising against capitalism (*i.e.*, the increasing withdrawal of consent from the present economic system).

(6) The Reaction.

The gradual influence of the modern view of international law can easily be traced in the later Scholastics and is quite clear in most of the nineteenth century writers of text-books. R. de Arriaga, S.J. (1564-1662) denies the existence of the *ius gentium* altogether: "There are no real common laws such that one nation is bound to observe them with another."[1] But it is chiefly Protestant writers who, by their so-called separation of ethics and law, have succeeded in demolishing the entire basis of world-law. Hobbes's fundamental principle is that "where there is no common power, there is no law; where no law, no injustice." Pufendorf, Barbeyrac, Burlamaqui, and others deny the existence of any positive world-law. For them the *ius gentium* is merely the natural law applied to the intercourse of nations; and since their time natural law itself has been rejected as antiquated nonsense. "The law obtaining between nations," declares Austin, "is not positive law; for every positive law is set by a given sovereign to a

[1] *De legibus* vii. 8, 66: *Disput. theol.*, Lugd. 1647-54, iv. 71 *a*.

person or persons in a state of subjection to its author."[1]

These non-Catholic writers, it should be observed, use the expression *ius gentium* solely in the modern sense of international law; and it was on this interpretation, and for the alleged reason that no supernational "sovereign" existed, that they denied all *positive* law of nations. It has already been pointed out that early in the seventeenth century this restriction in the meaning of *ius gentium* is already noticeable in the Scholastics; this change is obviously connected with a contemporary process—the abolition of customary law and the cessation of all recognised jural facts save the authenticated decisions of some centralised sovereign body. Many Catholic writers, of course, formally retained the old concept of *ius gentium*; but, curiously enough, they came gradually to accept as applicable to the law-of-nations the decision of the Protestant jurists relative to law-between-nations, namely, the denial that it is positive. Thus it came to be generally admitted, though not until the latter half of the nineteenth century, that the *ius gentium* is natural law.[2]

It has therefore become necessary to re-interpret S. Thomas and all the older Scholastics: a task which has called forth much (sometimes amusing) ingenuity but no real scholarship. Many texts have had to be

---

[1] Hobbes, *Leviathan* i. 13; cf. *De cive* xiv. 4 (*Opera philos.*, Molesworth, ii. 316): lex gentium=lex naturalis civitatum. Pufendorf, *De iure naturae* ii. 3, 23; *Elementa* 24. Barbeyrac, note on Grotius, *De iure belli* i. 1, 14 (Amst. 1720, p. 18). Burlamaqui, *Principles of Natural Law*, ii. 6, 5 (Eng. trans., 1752, p. 195). Austin, *Jurisprudence*, 1869[3], i. 231. Cf. *Studies*, June, 1918, p. 232.

[2] The Protestant origin of this view is sometimes frankly admitted,—Dmowski, *Institutiones philosophicae*, 1843[4], § 127 (ii. 174); Meyer, *Inst. iuris naturalis*, 1906[2], i. 484 (§572); A. de la Barre, *La morale*, 1911, p. 135. After a search through all the Scholastics accessible I have been able to discover only the following, among writers prior to 1850, who (with certain variations) seem to maintain that *ius gentium* is natural law: S. Antoninus, *Summa theologica* iv. 5, 4 (ed. 1740, iv. 186) seems to accept Ulpian's view here, but elsewhere (dealing with private property) speaks differently. Montesinus, *Commentaria in primam secundae*, disp. 23, q. 4 n. 57; 1622, ii. 543 *b.*; but he seems to admit that the current view is against him. Gamaches, *Summa*, 1634, ii. 285. F. Mendoza, *De pactis* iii. 1, 1. Devoti, *Institutiones canonicae*, proleg. § 30; 1842, i. 22.

passed over with discreet silence; in other cases cautious interpolations have had to be made.[1] The plain fact that the unanimous teaching of the School regards the *ius gentium* as positive human law, has never been explained by these modern reactionary writers. "When the denomination of positive is given thereto," writes Liberatore,[2] "the epithet is not taken in the sense of being *ex condicto sive ex communi placito*, but only in the sense of being *posited* by man, though not of his free will, but by deduction from the principles of the natural law. If any theologian—or even more than one—said the contrary, he is not to be followed." Thus, with a stroke of the pen, six centuries of Scholastic teaching are gracefully deleted: They either did not mean what they said, or else they are not to be followed. Why this eagerness to break with the past? "It must be confessed," says Zigliara,[3] "that among several there are not a few obscurities, which doubtless would not exist, if they lived in our times and heard the ravings of communism." That is, the old teaching concerning the *ius gentium* must be abandoned because it does not suit the new defence of private property. I propose to consider this point in a separate article.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY.

---

[1] Thus "S. Thomas understands by *ius gentium* those positive laws which contain *necessary* [a mere interpolation] conclusions from natural law."—Cathrein, *Phil. moralis*, 1915[9], thesis 43, p. 225. Cf. same writer in *Phil. Jahrbuch* 2 (1889) 373-388. Suarez (*De legibus* ii. 17, 8) seems to attribute a similar view to "aliqui moderni Thomistae."

[2] *Principii di economia politica*, 1889, p. 171.

[3] *Phil. moralis*, 1912[15], p. 194. Zigliara also rejects the Scholastic theory of political power and attributes (without proof) "obscurity" to it also (p. 272).

STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS IN GERMANY SINCE THE WAR.

BY STANISLAUS VON DUNIN-BORKOWSKI, S.J.

THAT the impulse towards concerted and social action has made itself manifest among the students of German High Schools and Universities from very old times to our own is a fact well known to readers whether of history or of literature. In this article we propose to review the fruits of that impulse in a limited number of recent manifestations, and particularly in some post-war combinations of German Catholic students belonging to the higher schools which precede entrance either into the Universities or into active vocational work.

Of these recent movements we may see the pioneers in the " Wandervögel " (" Roamers "). Youths who found home-life and school-life both narrow and cramping, resolved to consecrate their days of possible liberty to the enjoyment of a romantic liberation. They would combine their numbers and their spirits, in blissful wanderings amid Nature's wild or charming scenes, with no discipline save what they chose to impose on themselves. It was the old romantic striving towards the ideal life of youth. The history of that movement might now be written down —a chequered tale. It lacked unity ; it had no clear guiding ideas ; it was not serious enough, yet neither was it practical or always amusing. The desire for independence and originality was allowed to extend even to religious matters. Family-life was apt to be left in the lurch ; the sins of the school and the pedagogue were visited with

excessive condemnation or satire. It was not sufficiently borne in mind that school-days are, to their close, a preparation, an ordered course, towards the needs, business and rewards of mature life. Resolved to be free from the yoke of the grown-ups, the lads fell under the sway of men who, gifted seemingly with endless youth, put into youthful heads many thoughts and difficulties neither youthful nor profitable.

The "Freideutsche Jugend" ("Free-German Youth") was another association which somewhat notably exhibited these contradictions and drawbacks. Their great gatherings achieved no unity. "*Bourgeois*" and "Proletarian" came into conflict. The problems of mass *versus* class, of inclusiveness *versus* selection were never solved; neither were those of the relations between juniors and seniors, between boy-students and girl-students. The forms of internal government were never satisfactorily settled. At present these questions remain in dispute, or rather seem to have reached a stage which is critical for the very existence of the "Free-German" students' movement.

The organization of Catholic students from the High Schools of Germany is a recent growth. During eleven years there existed an association of certain Catholic students avowing "abstinence" principles, and named the "Quickborn" ("Living Spring"). Not, however, until some years ago did it assume the proper proportions of a "movement," taking upon itself the responsibility of professing and propagating certain views and ideals.

There is another Catholic confederation of imposing programme, called "Die Grossdeutsche Jugend" "the Great-German Youth")—a name we cannot consider happy or distinctive—who will to be, in the first place, select: they seek to work through small groups and hold aloof from student-masses. They pursue lofty ideals. Whether they are keeping sufficiently clear of the pitfalls that await pride is another question. If they succeed in

forming an *élite*, whose members, dispersed throughout the general student body, can penetrate and inform the mass as an effective leaven of higher thought and feeling, they will certainly have played a valuable part in our national development. The pose of superiority and leadership has, however, its obvious dangers for groups as well as for individuals, nor does it easily win among young or old the popularity necessary for effective action.

The "Living Spring" and the "Great-Germans" have both been confronted by the growing importance of the girl-student. She has been accepted in both. But the Great-Germans admit of no groups wherein both sexes meet. The associates of the "Living Spring," on the other hand, content themselves with forbidding expeditions taken in common outside their walls; they have meetings for business purposes, in which both sexes join; and vacation days bring more agreeable interchanges. The Association has become proprietor of the picturesque old castle of Rothenfels on the Main; there boy and girl students inhabit separate buildings, but meet and join for talk, play and dance, for work and for devotion. The grey massive walls, brightened by many a modern invention and modish decoration, looked down during the summer of 1920 on a crowd of students numbering in total 1,500, with whom were mingled not a few guests of riper years, including several clergymen. The days fled in the most varied occupations and distractions, from lectures on very grave subjects and courses for the training of "leaders," to gymnastic exercises and unadulterated fun —what is called (though not by the dictionaries) "Ulk." But a sense of responsibility and self-respect seasoned all the proceedings; more than this, it was surprisingly evident that the "Living Spring" realised itself to be a Catholic union of Catholics. The young people were most exemplary in their religious fervour, and the fervent gave the general tone. Numerous were the daily Communions, large the attendances at sermons and at splendidly-con-

ducted evening devotions. Within the precincts of the Schloss lawn the twilight air often resounded with chants in praise of the Blessed Mother or her Son, now in full harmony of voices, now from a single voice sustained by guitar or zither.

It is a pleasing and a true tale. The world, after all, is not merely a valley of tears and a field of blood! But cautious and sceptical age will still knit its brows and ask whether such heroic beginnings can maintain themselves, whether this golden age will not fade or corrupt into something sadly different Human nature is what it is: youth is no guarantee of righteousness: and behold, the "Living Spring" has elected to be a guide and a law unto itself! All its leaders and teachers, even its spiritual guides, are elected by the members themselves (due episcopal authority being secured where necessary). Clearly there are various doors open or half-open through which serious troubles may glide into Schloss Rothenfels. So far the representatives of the Association have been unimpeachable in the orthodoxy of their professions and actions. They have declared their utter obedience to all spiritual authorities in all necessary matters; they have even declared themselves prepared to destroy at a blow the Association should it clearly swerve from its proper ideals. So long as this heroic mind lives on, so long shall it be well with "Der Quickborn."

The summer of 1919 saw the commencement of a third movement among German Catholic youth, which took the name "New Germany." If not precisely initiated by youthful minds, it manifestly rose in response to the desires of thousands. Cardinal Hartmann, Archbishop of Köln, was one of its first promoters. A central nucleus was constituted, the work of organisation was entered on by a committee and a general secretary. After a year of their activities the number of associates has been reckoned at 15,000. These were all boy-students, girls not being admitted to the organization.

The "New Germans" aim at extreme elasticity in their constitution and rules. Not by compulsion, but from ideal motives and personal resolve, is the right thing to be done. The highest aim, the smallest amount of legislation—this is the watchword of their enterprise.[1]

To a high ideal of purity and nobility of life these makers of "New Germany" pay homage. The unclean, base and unworthy in talk and in reading, in art, in amusements is the object of their open hostility. Their members must make no concessions to the vileness which so often dominates the theatre, the cinema, and other public resorts. In opposition to these they exalt, like the "Roamers," the healthy amusements provided or suggested by open-air Nature. Far-flung rambles—the traditional delight of the German student—made delightful by friendly association and enlivened by ringing song, are prominent on their varied agenda. They profess to be young; and while seeking the just rights of youth they yet acknowledge the providential limits set to its empire. Their movement, like the other that preceded it, sprang largely from a sense of unfair treatment. "Youth (they said in effect) has been bent from its due standing in two opposite directions. You have tried to make us like old men; you have coddled and guarded us like children. We want to see about living our own life." The "New Germans" have begun to act out these ideas in no ungenerous spirit. Repelling the tyranny of whatsoever is pedantic, mercenary, wooden in the direction and moulding of their lives, they seek a full measure of self-guidance, self-development, play for mind and body without narrow calculation of use and profit. Their government is, though not so markedly as that of the "Living Spring," independent and democratic. A majority of youthful councillors and administrators decide and carry out all matters of government. Religious

[1] [A Note has been added at the end of this article to give the readers of *Studies* an idea of the constitution and general working of "New Germany."—TRANSLATOR]

authority, however, is fully acknowledged and allowed its due freedom.

But what of the school-life, with its burden of preparation for future usefulness and success? Its claims are fully acknowledged. Youth is no permanent state; its peculiar interests are not ends in themselves. It must learn; it must be guided, taught, trained, disciplined. Willing obedience is a noble thing: it is wise and right to bow to the majesty of lawful authority.

In due sequel to such principles the youths of "New-Germany" have a programme of cultural and social ideas and aims. Some may be detailed: the cultivation of family life and family spirit; the promotion of friendly relations with teachers and school authorities; zeal for sincere and industrious attention to studies; recognition (on the other hand) of shortcomings in the school-programmes towards practical training for life and the courageous endeavours to fill such gaps by personal and concerted enterprize. Towards the masses of their fellow-men, towards their country, the "New Germans" seek to cultivate and display a true affection and a serviceable loyalty. They would fain train up in their ranks men and officers who will deserve to be found amongst the foremost in days of trial. They would break down and level out the too huge barriers that everywhere divide class from class. Yet they will not praise nor encourage any narrow patriotism, any fostering of discord between nation and nation. Love of home and of people are not to be a blind fanaticism, but aids towards a broad and liberal humanity. Ready for defence, the young German patriot ought to be a lover and promoter of the world's peace and harmony.

These are Catholic ideas. "Neu-Deutschland" desires in fact to be, before all things, Catholic. "Radically Catholic" is one of its phrases. To know, to win back (where necessary) the Catholic spirit, with its influence on thought and action; to exercise a Catholic apostolate by

example, by word, by charitable aid : such are its aims, and the youth who remains indifferent to the cause of Christ and His Church can find no abiding place in its ranks.

Needless to say, ideals are not their own realization. The thoughtful heads of " New Germany " are aware not only of this fact, but of certain definite causes which make realization difficult in their own case. There is the desire and need to enlarge their movement and its influences to the widest extent possible ; there is the danger of dilution or corruption in consequence of indiscriminate recruiting. There is the need for well-trained, bold and vigorous leaders, who must at the same time be men of self-restraint, obedience and brotherly spirit. There is the perpetual adjustment of their relations as a body with the claims of the family and the school. We will not attempt to anticipate the solutions which time may bring to these problems.

In conclusion, let us turn to a question which has been asked by many well-wishers to our youth. Is there need of these different associations wherein to gather them ? Is there a use in this multiplicity ? Is there not rather a weakness and a danger ?

One answer—a somewhat indirect one—may be offered at once. The three movements must strive to live in harmony. Wise counsels—it is sincerely to be hoped—will avert the dangers that naturally arise from the eager but intolerant partisanship natural to youth. Each party will do well to study and appreciate whatever is good in the spirit and government of the others, and thereby be led to cultivate amicable relations.

The three associations are, at any rate, facts to be reckoned with. Endeavours to reduce them to two or to one seem to have no prospects of success. The three respond too well to so many different types of student mind. The self-denying ideals of the " Quickborn," their emotional and sentimental turn, their preference for

selectness rather than numbers, are factors which draw many towards them, but repel others. The stiffer organisation of the "New-Germans," their greater dependence from a central corps, wherein men no longer students play an important part, are, again, characteristics attractive or repulsive according to individual differences of mind and training. Then there is also to be borne in mind the student who from fastidiousness or practical reasons believes in the small group or association with definite aims and pursuits, and rejects as an encumbrance any larger and more general association. All such views have their justification and their claims to be considered ere we talk of amalgamation.

The highest aims are and must remain common to all. Catholic youth, linking themselves in organised bodies, intend to prove to their seniors that youth does not mean reckless rashness and dangerous indiscipline. There are those who do not trust them: already the "Free-Germans" have succumbed to difficulties, internal and external. But their more judicious rivals are eager to show by the evidence of their steady progress that they are fit to deal with the problems and cares of self-government. They mean to refute the calumny that the Catholic Church has no understanding for the self-development of youth, knows only how to mother or to drill it. They hope to exemplify a happy harmony between freedom and authority—between a freedom that willingly submits and an authority that is purely moral and unarmed. They mean to face seriously the duty of a self-training that never loses sight of remote goals dimly glimmering in the future. They desire to take in hand a full programme of preparatory schemes and works for mature life—schemes religious, moral, social, literary and artistic.

And all true and wise friends of youth in Germany recognise that they must be supported and encouraged. Mere indifference, mere cold water, will not avail: the day when it could solve the problem is past. Catholic

associations there must be. Many Catholic lads have joined non-Catholic bodies because they did not find among their co-religionists what they wanted. The "Path-finders" attracted some: they are an imitation of the English Boy Scouts; but they are too autocratically ruled from above to claim a place on the roll of present-day self-determining student-movements. They have, besides, the grave drawback of being under Freemason influences. The "Roamers" have won many Catholic comrades to their bands. Some highly-gifted leaders among the "Free-Germans" have been Catholics. Such losses, in ever-increasing numbers, will German Catholics still have to deplore if they refuse to the new student movement their sympathy, their judicious co-operation, their practical support. But if, more wisely counselled, they grant these, they will secure for every cause in which as Catholics they are interested, the promise and the actuality of an army of helpers. They need not fear that their young brethren will fail to stand the test of any fair competition with other leagues into which time and the hour may bring them.

STANISLAUS VON DUNIN-BORKOWSKI.

NOTE.

[Of the actual constitution of "New Germany" the following are the main points[1]:—The Governing Body of the Association consists of six elements—(*a*) a President; (*b*) a General Secretary; (*c*) the editors of the two periodicals issued by the Association; (*d*) three head-chaplains or catechists from the schools; (*e*) three adult Catholic laymen, of whom at least one must be a school-teacher; (*f*) fifteen regional representatives of the schoolboys themselves—this number to be increased with the incorporation of new regions. The appointment of the President is mainly in the hands of the bishop of the diocese in which the Governing Body (or Central) works—at present Cologne (Köln). The governors mentioned under (*d*), (*e*) and (*f*) are elected for yearly or three-yearly terms at the annual Convention. The Convention has supreme jurisdiction in the affairs of the Association; it receives and discusses

[1]Further information and literature may be obtained on application to the Generalsecretär, Albertusstrasse 36, Köln, Germany.

the annual report of the General Secretary ; but during the year ordinary business is transacted by the Central with a *quorum* consisting of the President, the General Secretary, and three members of the (*f*) group (student representatives) above-named.

The entire Association is divided into local groups and regional groups, all of which have their times, independently arranged for business meetings. The 15,000 members of the present Association were divided (taking July, 1920, as our date) into one hundred and sixty-five local groups and eight regional. While the latter are naturally entrusted with the fostering and direction of the local groups (which were, however, the earlier creation), there is full freedom of intercourse and help between the Central and the local groups. The local groups retain a large degree of freedom as regards their constitution, government and development, subject to advice or veto by the regional or central authorities. Rates of subscription are fixed by the annual Convention : each member is expected to subscribe to at least one of the periodicals published by the Association.

On the actual working of " Neu-Deutschland " some extracts from the annual report read in July, 1920, will throw further light. The receipts in cash for the year amounted to nearly 19,000 marks ; the expenses to over 25,000. The deficit of over 6,000 appears, however, to have been contemplated with equanimity ; further over-due contributions were expected, and a liberal foundation was promised by the German province of the Society of Jesus.

As regards the religious activities of the Association, the idea of annual or biennial Retreats has been warmly welcomed, and measures have since been in progress to provide suitable houses for such gatherings. In some groups monthly Communion has been adopted as a rule. All groups are strongly encouraged either to form among themselves a Sodality of the Blessed Virgin or to enter into relations with an existing sodality.

The intellectual work of the groups—apart from the normal toil which occupies their members as schoolboys—is conducted mainly in two ways : by lectures offered to all, embracing all manner of subjects thought to be useful and given by the most competent lecturers ; and, secondly, by minor groups (academies, clubs, etc.) fostered within the main group. Thus, there are reunions for periodic discussions on religious questions (apologetic, historic, etc.) or on economic and social problems ; for the study of local natural history, local (dialectic) language and literature; for the cultivation of music and other fine arts. Orchestras and

theatrical performances have flourished under the wing of the Association : its Central is always prepared to give counsel for the starting and the carrying on of such enterprises, and to lend free of cost texts, music, costumes and the like. Sports, excursions, and vacations will naturally be the object of considerable attention. It should be particularly noted that the Association, while eager to foster open-air life and pleasures on a large scale, is yet fully aware of the possible dangers incurred by the inexperienced, when there is question of leaving home for the shelter of miscellaneous hotels, inns and lodging-houses. So diligently, therefore, has it catered for the well-being of its summer-time wanderers, that during the holiday-season of 1919 some eight hundred youthful holiday-makers were provided with the needful board and lodging, not only in perfect comfort and safety, but in some cases quite free or nearly free of cost.

With the Universities the Association has naturally come into touch. Its interest in the incipient careers of its members brings it to watch in friendly fashion over their early days in the institutions which receive most of them after their intermediate school-time has ended. If in any University town there exists a group of "Neu-Deutschland," its members make it their business to seek the new-comers who have been members of their Association, and see to it that his freshman days are not condemned either to loneliness or to lack of spiritual or material helps. Nor are the University "old boys" the only ones to be thus attended to ; as far as possible, all other ex-associates will be kept in friendly view.

With the general spirit in which these measures have been conceived, and these aims so far carried out, the authors of the annual report express a deep satisfaction. They adopt as their own the sentiments voiced by an aged and eminent school-teacher. "I had almost," he said, "lost belief and hope in Germany's recovery from her wounds. But now that I have seen our lads so inspired by such ideals—their devotion to the Church, their zeal to uplift the Fatherland—my courage is revived. With such a young generation—if we will meet them wisely—we may hope for anything."—*Translator*].

CHRONICLE.

I.—The Rockefeller Foundation.

BY JAMES J. WALSH, M.D., SC.D.

THE recently issued president's report of the Rockefeller Foundation, reviewing the work accomplished in 1919, calls attention to the fact that this institution has now become quite definitely world-wide in its scope. There is not a country on the western hemisphere which is not the subject of some of the Foundation's activities, and there is scarcely a country in the world into which its direct influence has not been diffused Manifestly the Rockefeller Foundation deserves to be known by all who are interested in the improvement of the health of mankind. By the motto on its seal it is dedicated to "the well-being of mankind throughout the world," and the presidential report shows how thoroughly in a great many ways its purpose is being accomplished. It is undoubtedly making history.

Probably for most people the most important paragraph of the president's report would seem to be that on the very last page, which notes that on Christmas Day, 1919, Mr. John D. Rockefeller announced the making of a new gift of $50,000,000 to the Foundation which bears his name. The president notes that "this addition to the Foundation's resources will enable it more adequately to meet the large demands of a world-wide programme which already reaches twenty-five countries." Ten millions of pounds sterling in the old pre-war exchange would seem to be a very substantial addition to previous funds. Only the vast scope of the Foundation's work will enable the ordinary man to understand just why the great financier, so well known for the very practical character of his gifts, should make so large a donation as this to an institution which has already been favoured by him to an extent quite beyond the dreams of the philanthropy of even a generation ago.

This report of the work for 1919 contains one extremely interesting item for humanity. It tells of the eradication of yellow fever at Guayaquil, in Ecuador (South America), which was probably the worst endemic focus of yellow fever in the world. For hundreds of years yellow fever had continually existed there. In 1842 half the population of the city was carried off by the disease, whilst the average number of cases for the last ten years was over 300, and in 1918 approached 500. The port has been a constant source of danger for all the surrounding tropical countries as well as, now that

the Panama Canal is open, for the southern and Mississippi towns of the United States. The Rockefeller Institute of New York sent a commission to study the situation scientifically, and one of the members of the commission, the well-known Japanese bacteriologist, Dr. Hydeyo Noguchi, discovered what is almost beyond doubt the micro-organism which is the cause of yellow fever. Animals can be given the disease, so that the study seems complete. Noguchi called the *spirillum* which he found, a spiral organism half way between a microscopic plant and an animal, the *leptospira icteroides* (" slim spiral the jaundice-maker ").

After the results of these studies had attracted the attention of the local authorities an offer was made to co-operate with them in ridding their city of the undesirable indweller. When the offer was accepted, a single American was sent to organize the staff at Guayaquil, which was made up of Ecuadorians. The organization began its work in November, 1918. The disease was at its height. In December 88 new cases were reported ; there had been 81 in November. When there were 85 in January, Guayaquil was discouraged. The Rockefeller representative pleaded for patience. In February there were only 43, in March but 17, in April 3, in May 2, in June none. Since June, 1919, no case has been reported.

Guayaquil was looked upon, up to this, as the most dangerous endemic focus of yellow fever in the world. There remain Merida, in Yucatan, certain suspected areas in Venezuela, some smaller places along the coast of Brazil and possibly along the west coast of Africa. To continue the work for the eradication of these seed beds of yellow fever is the definite programme of the Rockefeller Foundation. The British Government has agreed to co-operate in South Africa, as the South American countries are doing already. It would seem then that we are near the realisation of what Surgeon-General Gorgas had hoped would be his privilege before his death, the writing of " the last chapter of yellow fever." It will be the greatest memorial to him.

In the meantime it is extremely interesting to note how nations of all kinds are co-operating with the Foundation. The governments of Central America, rather difficult to harmonise on any point, have agreed to co-operate with each other and with the Rockefeller for the control of yellow fever. The Foundation has been engaged in the eradication of malaria and helping various European countries in the crusade against tuberculosis, and in more than a dozen of countries there is a strenuous campaign against hookworm disease. All of this work is so thoroughly organised that really wonderful results are being obtained.

Besides all this, the president chronicles the opening at John Hopkins University of a school of hygiene and public health to train men and women for world health work under the auspices of the Foundation ; and he announces the erection of the Peking Union Medical College in the Chinese capital. The complete plant of this institution will include laboratories for anatomy, physiology, and chemistry, a pathology building, a 250-bed hospital, and provision for about thirty private rooms, a large out-patient department, a hospital administration unit with quarters for resident physicians, a nurses' home, an animal house, and plants which will supply water, heat, electric light and power, and fuel gas. Three of the teaching buildings were occupied in October, 1919. It is expected that the entire plant will be completed by January 1st, 1921.

In December, 1919, in connection with the gift of $50,000,000, the sum of $5,000,000 was set aside for use in Canada. This was to be distributed after consultation with Canadian Government officials and prominent citizens, and after a careful review of the medical schools of Canada. Arrangements were made for the establishment of a Department of Public Health in the medical school of the University of San Paulo, Brazil, and for a Department of Pathology in the Oswaldo Cruz Institute. All this in co-operation with the local authorities so as to train workers for their own sanitary problems. During last year the Foundation provided 85 Fellowships and Scholarships in the universities of the United States: 57 came from China, 5 from Brazil, 1 from Salvador, and 4 from Czecho-Slovakia, these latter pursuing courses in public health, less than 20 being Americans in the usual sense of that word. A special effort is made, by the provision of fellowships, to discover the exceptional individuals who can pursue public health work with its intricate problems of bacteriology, and the results so far secured have been very satisfying.

The success of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the sister institution in New York, in discovering exceptional individuals has been remarkable. Dr. Simon Flexner, the director of the laboratories, had of course proved his precious qualities as a bacteriological investigator before coming to the Rockefeller ; but he has continued his work with even more success as a consequence of the opportunities and facilities provided for him. On the other hand, Dr. Alexis Carrel was quite unknown when he came to the Rockefeller, and has since, as the result of his discoveries in connection with cell life, been awarded the Nobel Prize. Dr. Dakin, who with Dr. Carrel developed an extremely successful method of treating wounds during the war, is another Rockefeller develop-

ment. Dr. Hydeyo Noguchi, who must probably now be considered the discoverer of the cause of yellow fever, a problem which has baffled some of the best bacteriologists for nearly a generation, received all of his opportunities for magnificent work from his connection with the Rockefeller. Dr. Jacques Loeb, whose work in experimental biology has attracted world-wide attention, is here given the opportunity to extend the field and scope of his investigations.

As disease recognizes no boundary lines, the Rockefeller Foundation has had to cultivate a thorough-going spirit of internationalism, and there seems no doubt that it is doing more at the present time to bring about a spirit of world-wide co-operation for the benefit of all humanity than any other movement since the Great War disturbed mankind. Men are being taught real fraternal co-operation in the matter of health, and it seems almost inevitable that they will apply the lessons thus learned to other human interests.

The income from the Foundation's funds in 1919 was just a little more than $7,000,000. The expenditures represented $7,760,000. The deficit is made up by money carried over from the preceding year. The total invested funds of the Foundation on December 31st, 1919, were just a little under $175,000,000. The buildings owned by it are set down as worth just about $5,000,000, most of this amount representing the Chinese Medical School.

Besides the Rockefeller Foundation there are two other large institutions which owe their origin and maintenance to Rockefeller millions. In New York City there is the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, which occupies an immense square along the East River, in the heart of a very crowded quarter of the city. On this there is a central structure consisting of a laboratory and administration building with five floors and a light basement and some accessory rooms on the roof (136 by 60 feet of ground area). There is another laboratory building containing six floors and two basements, covering 150 by 62 feet, and a hospital building seven stories, with two additional basement floors in the wall of the East River cliff, and a roof house. Besides, the Institute owns 400 acres not far from Princeton University, New Jersey, with laboratory and animal buildings to provide serum horses and other animals that are used in the pathological and experimental work. Altogether there are probably five million dollars' worth of property, and the activities are supported by an adequate income from funds provided for that purpose by the Rockefeller family.

In addition to these two, there is a third Rockefeller beneficence, the General Education Board, which was founded in 1902, and

provided with an ample endowment. In eighteen years this institution has appropriated toward the general endowment of colleges and universities in the United States a little over $15,000,000. Gifts for endowment by a consistent policy have been made only on condition that the colleges and their alumni and friends should raise by their own efforts considerably larger sums for endowment purposes than the general education board would provide. Usually the rule was that of the whole sum needed for endowment the Board would donate one-third provided the other two-thirds were raised by subscription. This greatly encouraged giving on the part of others interested in education. The engagements entered into by the colleges amounted to the sum of nearly $54,000,000, so that altogether about $70,000,000 have been added to the total resources for the endowment of education in this country because of the Board promising to sweeten all subscriptions and donations by adding one-third to them. The Board did not wait until the full amount promised was raised by the colleges; when substantial sums were secured, the Rockefeller share was given *pro rata*.

During the single year ending June 30th, 1919, the last available for reference, the General Education Board made appropriations aggregating $1,175.000. This sum was toward a total of $4,375,000, which was to be raised by the colleges and universities applying for Rockefeller aid in the matter. Among the institutions aided in that year was the college of St. Catherine, a college for women founded by the late Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, in 1903, and which has gradually come to occupy a position of enviable influence in education in the mid-Northwest. For the first eight years of its existence St. Catherine's did merely junior college work, but since 1911 it has been giving full college studies for regular degrees. Catholic colleges have but very rarely come into the beneficence of the General Education Board, as this is, I believe, the first time that a Catholic college for women has been favoured; but the incident serves to show a liberal attitude towards education in any form that promises to be helpful. The war brought a notable lessening of bigotry, a recognition of the fact that Catholic education made for the highest patriotism, and some appreciation of that other important fact that it stood as a bulwark against radical social views and a destructive philosophy of life. St. Catherine's received $100,000 toward a $300,000 endowment, the rest to be raised by friends in St. Paul.

This is very briefly and rather inadequately told—what the richest man in the world is doing to make life more liveable, to decrease the suffering in it and increase the possibilities of education

for his generation. The Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1913 for "the well-being of mankind throughout the world," because it had been seen that the efforts to benefit Americans inevitably brought about the presentation of opportunities for the application of similar measures to neighbouring and foreign lands. The funds given to all these institutions have been so conservatively invested and safeguarded and the boards of trustees are so well chosen that it would seem that their income promises to be permanent—so far, of course, as anything human and mundane can be enduring. New problems in urgent need of solution will have to be found each year for the Foundation, further problems in medicine will have to be taken up by the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and further educational institutions encouraged to raise endowments so as to secure the Rockefeller promised third. The situation is very interesting as exhibiting the first attempt at such far-flung beneficence in the course of history. JAMES J. WALSH.

II.—Impressions of Zürich.

BY MARY CURRAN, M.A.

ZÜRICH has been a democratic republic since 1336, and for this reason alone, if for no other, it should have a special interest for us to-day. In the middle-ages a lady-abbess ruled supreme here, to give place, after the decay of the monastic system, to an oligarchy of silk merchants—the manufacture of silk being then as now the most important industry. These, however, did not remain long in undisputed possession, as the guilds grew in strength and in the fourteenth century secured a majority in the government of the town, and thus arose a constitution which contained in germ that which exists to-day.

Proximity to Germany and the bond of a common literary language have brought the town strongly under German influence, so that to the casual observer Zürich does not appear essentially different from the average German city. But the casual observer is wrong. The true-born Swiss will angrily repudiate any such suggestion. Even during the war public opinion was not markedly pro-German. The bond of language was strong, several had kinsfolk in the German army ; but who could sympathise with a people who broke off all trade-contracts under the pretext of war ? This alone sufficed to pit against Germany the dead weight of the Swiss manufacturing class. In Germany, it is pointed out, the Swiss

idea of personal freedom is unknown, a statement which the stranger may accept meekly but without inner conviction. Personal freedom! in a land where every non-Züricher is obliged to go and announce himself at the nearest Kreisbureau within twenty-four hours of his arrival; where he dare not change his address without making a similar report; where, before taking a room in a private house, he must hand in a polite petition giving all his reasons and submit to a visit from a detective who asks what seem most impertinent questions, such as "What are you doing in Zürich"? "How much money have you got"? The stranger smarting under these experiences may mildly protest, and he is then told that these are most necessary precautions, as during the war Zürich was the refuge of all the most undesirable people from other countries.

But the infringement of personal liberty does not stop there. Conjure up a vision of the interior of a tram! Here sit, silent and grim, worthy Zürich ladies and gentlemen. A young girl, evidently a foreigner, enters. She seems quite happy and looks cheerfully around. Suddenly a change passes over the bright countenance. Is it the effect of those cold, stern glances? One follows the direction of her eyes. No! That guilty, horrified look is not fastened on the occupants of the car, but on the notice just above their heads! "The wearing of unprotected hat-pins is forbidden by law"! All her self-assurance has vanished. She decides to get out at the next stopping-place. She stands up, and sees the stern glance of the tram-conductor glued to her hands! She assures herself she has her ticket, and decides to let him see it, lest his prolonged stare should arise from the suspicion that she is trying to defraud the tram company. She makes a bold display of her ticket, but the stony gaze does not waver. In visible embarrassment she looks around and then sees, just at her elbow, attached to the back of the seat, a small box for used tickets! Ah! That is it! She drops her ticket in with a sigh of relief, and the tram conductor resumes his air of cold indifference. What is not "polizeilich verboten" here?

She resolves to get out of Zürich. Here in this delightful wood there will be at least freedom from inhibitory inscriptions. She wanders about delighted under tall pines, barely conscious of the rustle of dead leaves beneath her feet. A green bench meets her gaze, labelled "Society for the Beautification of Zürich." She averts her eyes, but only to encounter another notice, obviously emanating from the same Society, commending to the public's tender protection the wood and all it contains. A few steps further

still another, stating that it is forbidden to throw on the ground pieces of paper, remains of fruit, or other objects. A hand is painted on the signboard. She proceeds with curiosity in the direction indicated, to come across an inviting waste-paper basket—a fixture in the ground and guaranteed to resist wind and rain. "Oh! these admirable Zürichers," she exclaims, and bitterly adds, "Personal liberty here!"

These are, however, but slight disadvantages of a democratic State; and such restrictions, irksome to a foreigner, sit lightly on the inhabitants.

Though not an economic democracy, the citizens of Zürich enjoy absolute political and social equality. The schools, which are attended by all classes of the community, are free up to university age. The hours are long, often from 7 a.m. till 4 or 5 p.m., with a two hours' interval. Games are not popular, their place being more or less taken by gymnastics. The subjects studied are most extensive in their range, as the matriculation requires proficiency in a multitude of subjects—three or four languages, physiology, zoology, and mathematics. The standard of knowledge among all classes of the community is very high, but is achieved at the cost of over-work and the stunting of originality.

There is also true equality before the law. "Second division" does not exist. Instead a very novel and admirable system takes its place. Persons convicted for the first time are sentenced to a term of imprisonment to come into effect after two years, and then only in the event of a repetition of the offence. The same rule holds in the children's courts, which (modelled on those in America) are particularly interesting. No reporters are admitted. The juvenile offender is brought in, the charge is formally read to him, and he is asked if he has anything to say. He is then sent away, and there remain three judges, the parents or guardians of the young offender, and an advocate. This advocate is assisted by a social worker who has made inquiries into the home-conditions of the child. His duty is to explain how far the offence is the result of environment, and whether it would be advisable to place the child in other surroundings. The advocate now states the case. He emphasises any extenuating circumstances or urges the judges to inflict the full penalty of the law. He then withdraws, and the three judges debate and after some discussion bring in their judgment. The advantages of this system are obvious. The privacy and simplicity of the proceedings strip crime of that police-court romance which often attracts the average adolescent; and as first offenders are never sent to gaol, Zürich is free from that curse of

so many cities, where prisons are practically institutions for turning first offenders into hardened criminals.

Politically the town is divided into two great parties—the bourgeois and the socialists. Between these there are a few others, but apparently they are not very strong. The socialists are themselves divided into communists and social-democrats, but they manage to preserve a united front. Even the programme of the social-democrats here has been condemned by the Catholic Church, owing to its views on religion and on marriage, which no Catholic can consistently share. Unfortunately the Catholic workers are not sufficiently numerous to found a party of their own.

On the corporation the socialists are in a majority, and the split between them and the bourgeois party is felt on every occasion. Thus the question as to whether Switzerland should join the League of Nations was fought largely on party lines. The socialists were strongly opposed to it, and in their May-Day procession banners, with the device "Down with the Capitalistic League of Nations," were very conspicuous. The result was that Zürich rejected the motion by an overwhelming majority. The tendency to make everything a party question accounts also for the failure to pass women's suffrage. The women, even the lady-students at the University, were quite indifferent on the subject. The motion was proposed by a leading socialist. This was in itself sufficient to rouse the opposition of the conservatives; and added to it was the fear that the socialist women, being too well organised, would be certain to vote, while the women of their own party would probably be slow to exercise their right. The socialists on the whole were also opposed to the measure, as they feared that women would misuse their privilege—by voting reactionary. At present a fierce party conflict is waging on the question of the day for celebrating matrimony. In this much-governed country weddings can only be solemnized on two days of the week—Tuesday and Thursday. On these days self-conscious couples may be seen meekly lined up on benches at the City Hall waiting for the civil ceremony, and then driving to church in a flutter of white ribbons. The socialist party very reasonably claims that one of the fateful days should be Saturday, to allow of a week-end of honey-mooning for the worker and his bride; but the ministers and the town officials stand firm for their Saturday half-holiday. The week-end is almost an article of faith here. Woe to the wretched patient who, unless in *articulo mortis*, ventures to ring up his doctor during this sacro-sanct break!

The University, too, is divided into opposing camps. The corps

students are for the most part bourgeois, while the Students' Representative Council is said to be strongly socialist. The S.R.C. is an active and enterprising body. It has a room in the university, where it keeps a supply of books, new and second-hand. It gives information about lodgings, arranges for public lectures in the university, and finally it acts as a very necessary intermediary between students and professors.

The University, which numbers over 2,000 students of all nationalities, has on its staff men well-known in the world of letters, science and philosophy, so that intellectually it is second to none in Switzerland. There is, however, no social life whatever. The corps may offer some to their members; but these are a minority, standing for Teutonic ideals and self-conscious "Burschenherrlichkeit." The University cannot even boast of a debating society. There is not a common room where students may meet and interchange their views. Nor apparently do they feel this need. Their time is largely taken up with work; in the evening they either study or repair to some improving lecture or to the theatre, if a classic is being performed.

The one great pleasure in life of the Zürich educated classes is attending lectures. Someone once said that, if an angel were to appear to a Zürich assembly and announce that a door on his right led to Paradise, whilst one on his left led to a lecture on Paradise, the great majority would most assuredly troop in through the door on his left. This probably accounts for the success of the University Extension Lectures. The fee demanded is merely nominal. They are held every night of the week from 8.15 p.m. till 9.15, and range over such diverse subjects as art, physics, chemistry, literature and history.

The town boasts of two excellent theatres. Both are subsidised, and are thus partly controlled by the town council. This year the subsidy amounted to about £2,000, although rumour has it that Zürich is on the verge of bankruptcy, as the wages paid to public servants are so generous that a tram-driver's salary is as high, or as low, as that of a university professor. In return for this subsidy the theatres are obliged to give a certain number of performances each year at popular prices (from 6d. to 2*s.*) and three performances free for all school children, one of which is invariably Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*. The standard of the plays acted is exceedingly high, and (to judge from the well-filled houses) they are apparently appreciated. Does public taste decide the repertory of a theatre, or is it the repertory which forms public taste?

Yet in spite of this interest in things intellectual Zürich is

certainly dull. The people have not learned the art of wearing life carelessly. They strike a foreigner as being distinctly materialistic, though he may find this difficult to reconcile with the stray scraps of conversation he overhears. All seem to work hard, in fact the people of Zürich have all "the deadly virtues." They are industrious, thrifty, honest, tidy and order-loving. They are exceedingly charitable, too, but characteristically prefer organised to indiscriminate charity. The amount of good work they have done to help Austrian and German children since the war is incalculable; they have also done everything possible for the numerous Russian students left stranded and penniless here.

It is characteristic of the lack of co-operative feeling in the University that the help given to these unfortunate students came in the main from extra-university circles. In this connection one excellent non-party organisation, the Zürich Women's League, may be mentioned. Its principal objects are social rather than political. It has an excellent influence on the life of the town—notably in combating prostitution and alcoholism. The most striking evidences of its activities are the first-rate temperance restaurants which it has organised. There are several of these bright airy buildings in various parts of the town, where well-cooked, if aggressively wholesome, meals at cost price are served at any time of the day by smiling, friendly waitresses, who are so well paid that the tip which shames him who gives and her who receives is entirely unnecessary. These restaurants are a priceless boon in a city where many of the inhabitants rent single rooms and take all their meals out. All classes of the community, from professors and writers of European reputation down to needy students and factory-hands, make use of them daily, and the rooms may be hired in the evenings for lectures or meetings. This institution of the "Alkoholfreie Restaurants des Züricher Frauenvereins" seems to me one that well deserves study and imitation either by enlightened town councils, or by Cumann na mBan when their political activities have ceased.

Another of the functions of the Women's League is the organisation of holidays in the country for the children of the poor. These children are boarded out among the peasantry free or at a low rate in return for light help in the farms, and are conveyed to and from their holiday homes at one-third of the usual railway fare, paid out of the funds of the society in the case of the very poor. The railways being State property, this agreement about reduced fares for the children is easily managed.

Yes! Zürich, regarded as a little republic, has much that is

truly admirable and democratic. Each one feels he has a share in the government—even ministers and teachers being elected by the people. Class distinction is scarcely noticeable. The rich make no aggressive display of wealth,—the women, even when they can afford to have a maid, often prefer to do the housework themselves. The poor are conscious of their human dignity, and no one can trace the slightest subserviency in their manner. The character of the people is however very different from the generally accepted idea of an Irishman. With a certain type of Scotch, or with some of our own "dour northerners" they have many qualities in common. Since the days of Zwingli Zürich has been one of the headquarters of Protestant theology, and the majority of the inhabitants are Zwinglians. Their religion is therefore essentially puritanical, and is more or less opposed to gaiety. It is characteristic that the women on Sunday dress in black, and anything more funereal than a group of black-clad confirmation girls it is impossible to imagine.

The schools are on an undenominational basis, and there is co-education throughout. This, however, does not seem to be productive of anything like *camaraderie* between boys and girls. Outside the school they rarely associate, and rumour has it that the men-students in the University look askance at the lady-students, seeing in them future rivals. In the churches, too, both Protestant and Catholic, the women and men are severely separated. In the light of this the numerous *Heiratsgesuche* in the daily papers, at times both ridiculous and pathetic, are less incomprehensible.

The Irish question has, especially of late, roused great interest, due probably to the natural sympathy of one small nation for another. On the whole, knowledge of the Irish question is rather vague, but during the month of June a series of excellent and, except where the inanities of the English Tory papers were re-echoed, fairly impartial articles were supplied by the English correspondent of the *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, the chief organ of the city. If the people of Zürich are ignorant of our case we ourselves are mainly to blame. What have we done to enlighten them?

MARY CURRAN.

REVIEWS.

Biography.

THE VENERABLE ANNE MADELEINE REMUZAT (1696-1730). By the Sisters of the Visitation of Harrow. With 12 Illustrations. Dublin: Gill. 1920. 236 pp. 6*s*. net.

In the steadily-increasing list of well-executed lives of saintly personages, original or translated, which recent years have been presenting to us, a prominent and honourable place may be claimed by the biography now before us. It is all the better for being no translation but original. Its author is mistress of a graceful and lucid style, and the veil of anonymity which the title-page interposes will not prevent the reader's recognition in her work of a distinct and pleasing individuality. Her knowledge of Dante's great poem enables her to add acceptable illustrations to many a page of her story.

That story, as far as its matter is concerned, has something of interest to present to all readers, although its heroine, like its author, led the outwardly uneventful life of the cloister. Its main appeal will, no doubt, be to those who welcome a faithful picture of the higher spiritual life as shown in an actual personality. For Anne Madeleine Remuzat, during her nineteen years in the Order founded by St. Francis de Sales, ascended to some of the highest and most difficult ways of mystic holiness. At the same time she possessed naturally a character of singular charm—a charm not a little of which looks out from the portrait which introduces the present volume; and she exercised from out her perpetual enclosure and prayer an influence which was wide and notable.

It happened, furthermore, that the circumstances of her life brought her into close relation with a personage and with events of world-stirring importance. Henri de Belsunce, "Marseilles' good bishop," possessed merit and importance sufficient to penetrate even the thick hide of John Bull's self-satisfied eighteenth-century Protestantism. In these pages we find him excellently portrayed as the self-sacrificing hero of the awful days of the Marseilles plague: we find him in other roles as commendable in themselves but far less intelligible to the John Bull type of mind and outlook. He is seen as the fearless champion of Catholic orthodoxy and morality,

the unflinching enemy of the Jansenist schism and its aggressions, the man of ever-growing spiritual earnestness, the director and directed at once of the saintly Visitation nun whose career is here chronicled.

"Director and directed" would seem to be a fair description of the mutual relations which prevailed between the vigorous, aristocratic, apostolically earnest prelate and the humble, secluded, silence-loving daughter of St. Francis. The following episode, abridged from the pages of this book, will afford a glimpse into the lives and souls of both :—

> Although from the beginning an exemplary prelate, Mgr. de Belsunce was not in the habit of celebrating Mass daily. The fact was not generally known, nor, had it been known, would it in those days have excited the slightest comment. To Anne Madeleine, however, then a very young nun, the Divine Master revealed the fact, signifying at the same time that it was displeasing to Him, and that she was to make known to the Bishop this displeasure of God. Intensely painful to the humble girl was the task thus put upon her; but the clear nature of the divine communication seemed to her to leave no choice but to obey. Availing herself, therefore, of the next opportunity that arose, Madeleine knelt before the Bishop and delivered her message. It was received with a chilling coldness, a dignified amazement; and, as soon as she ceased speaking, Mgr. de Belsunce upbraided her severely for daring to pass judgment on the conduct of her bishop. Nevertheless, before his lordship left the room he had internally resolved to follow the admonition. Her Master soon again visited Madeleine and gave her a further command: she was to express to the prelate the divine good pleasure at his compliance. This was a new trial; but once more Madeleine took her heart in her hands and prostrated herself before the Bishop to declare her commission. This time Monseigneur expressed neither annoyance nor emotion; but ere leaving the convent he expressed his admiration for the way in which his admonitress had fulfilled a painful duty, and thenceforward his belief in her sanctity and supernatural lights never wavered.

It is the less surprising after this to find that in the story of the great plague of Marseilles—a fearful tale here set forth with vivid realism—Anne Madeleine plays an important part. Her enclosed community refused the permission given to them to leave Marseilles, and held on in the midst of a city filled not only with subtler infections but with corpses rotting in the open sunlight. They escaped contagion themselves, and rendered countless charitable services to others. But their service outshining all others was that of having brought about the complete and sudden end of the scourge itself.

It was the celestial lights vouchsafed to Anne Madeleine and communicated to Mgr. de Belsunce that led him to adopt those means of appeasing the wrath of Heaven which he employed with such striking effect. The consecration of the city to the Sacred Heart of the Redeemer, the vow of an annual celebration in Its

honour pronounced by the civic authorities—these were the means suggested on behalf of Heaven by the nun and taken up by the bishop and the citizens. As to the signal results, it will suffice to quote here as testimony the words used by the city magistrates of Marseilles in a declaration published by them in 1722 :—

> When every human effort had hopelessly failed, prayers and acts of religion had arrested the hand of God. For all had ocular demonstration that the plague not only decreased but had actually ceased from the very day on which Mgr. de Belsunce had consecrated Marseilles to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

On other pages of history and sociology this book also throws light—on the struggle which prelates like de Belsunce had to wage against the Jansenist sectaries ; on French family life in the eighteenth century ; but most of all, as we have already implied, will it interest the student of saintly and mystical ways and experiences. Particularly engaging are the pages towards the close wherein we find the heroine, now at the culmination of a career of singular internal trials and experiences, occupied in the highly external duties of a convent bursar and discharging them quite successfully. Noteworthy also is an appendix wherein is given a detailed account of a remarkable miraculous cure wrought in the year 1885 and attributed to the intercession of Anne Madeleine Remuzat. G. O'N.

ST. PATRICK. His Writings and Life. By Newport J. D. White, D.D. London : S.P.C.K. 1920. 6*s.* 6*d.* net.

ST. BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX'S LIFE OF ST. MALACHY OF ARMAGH. By H. J. Lawlor, D.D., Litt.D. London : S.P.C.K. 1920. 12*s.* net.

Dr. Newport White has already written many books concerning the early Irish Church, and now he presents us with a translation of the writings of St. Patrick, prefaced by a biography of the National Apostle. It is very remarkable that the only authorities cited, except Colgan and Father Edmund Hogan, S.J., are non-Catholics. We have references to Gwynn, Reeves, Bernard, Atkinson, Hamilton, Todd, and Bury, but not a line concerning Cardinal Moran, Archbishop Healy, Charles O'Conor, Malone, Morris, Hennessy, and others. The labours of Dr. MacCarthy are ignored, while the uncritical statements of Todd are lauded : in fact Todd is put on the same plane as Bury! An amusing blunder credits the Jesuits with the labours of John Colgan ; for, on page 26, we read that " a collection of seven ancient Lives of St. Patrick was published at

Louvain, in 1647, by John Colgan, S.J., in his *Trias Thaumaturga.*" In view of the fact that Colgan was one of the glories of the Irish Franciscans, this slip is most unaccountable.

As to the place of the Saint's nativity, Dr. White, notwithstanding the arguments of Professor Bury, is inclined to believe that St. Patrick was born in Dumbarton. St. Patrick does not say exactly where he was born, although Dr. White asserts that "the first point on which we can be certain about Patrick's birthplace is that it was in Great Britain." St. Patrick simply says that "he was in Britain with his kindred"—a very different reading.

In opposition to Prof. Bury's admission as to St. Patrick's "Roman mission," Dr. White makes the statement that "all the really ancient evidence is against the notion that Celestine was consulted about Patrick's consecration." Surely the plain statement of the scribe Ferdomnach in the *Book of Armagh* should be sufficient to convince the most sceptical, while St. Patrick's own dictum, 'Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis," ought to determine the question of the "Roman mission." According to the hymn attributed to St. Fiacc of Sletty, the National Apostle, at the suggestion of St. Germanus, went to Rome to receive consecration at the hands of Pope Celestine. Probus is also a good authority for St. Patrick's consecration in Rome.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux's *Life of St. Malachy of Armagh* is a classic, but until now no adequate English translation has been available. Hence students of Irish ecclesiastical history will welcome Dr. Lawlor's book, especially as he has enriched it with a luminous introduction, an excellent bibliography, copious notes, and a full index.

In the bibliography there is one notable omission, namely Monsignor O'Laverty's *Life of St. Malachy*, and had Dr. Lawlor consulted it he would have been enabled to locate the church in which St. Malachy passed in prayer his last night in Ireland on his last journey to Clairvaux. Also the late John Hanna, of Downpatrick, and not Canon O'Hanlon, should be credited with the identification of "Lapasperi," which is Cairngarroch, in Stoneykirk. Further, Monsignor O'Laverty gives the initial letter D of St. Bernard's Sermon on St. Malachy, which is of unusual interest as being ornamented with a portrait of St. Malachy.

Of particular value is the picture of Ireland in the days preceding St. Malachy, especially the account of the Scandinavian bishops, an account somewhat marred by such excrescences as "romanizing," "papalist," etc. It is, however, satisfactory to find that Dr. Lawlor no longer disputes the identification of Rathbreasail with Fiadh

meic Oengusa ; the year of the Synod may be dated as 1110. His account of this Synod, especially the visualising of the tribal divisions which resulted in the formation of dioceses, is of special interest. Taken all round, this volume is a valuable contribution to Irish ecclesiastical history of the twelfth century and pays graceful tribute to the wonderful work accomplished by St. Malachy of Armagh. W. H. Grattan Flood.

Drama.

THE LABOUR LEADER. A Play in three Acts. By Daniel Corkery.

THE YELLOW BITTERN. And Other Plays. By Daniel Corkery.

Dublin : Talbot Press. 1920. 5*s.* net. each.

The versatility of Mr. Daniel Corkery is truly admirable. He writes novels, sketches, plays with equal facility, and is as ready to handle the problem of a modern strike as he is to deal with legendary tales of far-off days. He is of the stuff of which "Abbey" dramatists are made, for he can give us a play of the "kitchen-dresser and shawl" type, or the "rope and sandal" school as the spirit moves him. One can have life "plain or coloured" from Mr. Corkery as one chooses.

The Labour Leader is a play of the former class, albeit no scene is laid actually in the kitchen. And a very good play it is. Although produced at "The Abbey" so far back as September, 1919, I have not as yet had the good fortune to see it acted (a condition of things I hope to better on the first opportunity) ; but doubtless it is already familiar to many readers of Studies. It possesses a definite dramatic interest, the character-drawing is good, the dialogue natural and yet forceful, and the essentially human quality of the work makes a genuine appeal to the reader. Perhaps there are few dramatic situations which go so straight to the heart of an Irish audience as that of a popular "leader" being overthrown by his followers. This is Mr. Corkery's theme, and he handles it in masterly fashion.

The Labour Leader, Davna Lombard, is a fine study. He is Parnell and Larkin and James Connolly in one. An idealist and a realist mixed, he towers above the lesser, preciser men of his party—the cautious folk who deprecate violence, but demand meticulous accuracy in the keeping of "minutes." Davna's trusty henchman, Tim Murphy, is another instance of Mr. Corkery's skill in character-

drawing. Indeed, all the "persons in the play" are true to life. I do not know how it "goes" on the stage, but the boxing-match in the last act between the Labour Leader and his would-be supplanter seems to me out of place. Like the duels in Shakesperean dramas, it has a touch of unreality. It may be that in the acting this proves effective, but it is obviously difficult to make a boxing-match live in words.

The three other plays—*The Yellow Bittern*, *Clan Falvey*, *King and Hermit*—now under review are of a very different quality. They are each one-act pieces and are steeped in the atmosphere of mysticism, which is the set-off to the "peasant" play at the Abbey. Easily the best is *The Yellow Bittern*, but none of them is to be compared to my thinking with *The Labour Leader*. Mr. Corkery's command of appropriate diction never fails him, and even in these short plays, in which action is subordinated to speech, his unerring dramatic instinct invariably achieves a successful "curtain." There is a preface to each volume, in which we find gentle gibes at other dramatists and their partiality to a "foreword," and from which also we learn that the Censor has robbed us of "a little play dealing with the Rising in Dublin in '16." Wherefore we love the Censor even less. W. D.

THE FIRE-BRINGERS. A Play in One Act. By Móirín a Cheavasa (Moireen Fox). Dublin: Talbot Press. 1920. 1*s.* net.

If, as there are signs to show, poetic drama is coming back to life in our theatre, there is a peculiar interest in the verse form of this fine and moving little play.

Blank verse would seem to have uttered its swan-song in the plays of Mr. Yeats, for the poets who deal with it nowadays have one apparent aim—to render it unrecognisable by means of all the devices so merrily described by Rupert Brooke:

> Combatting accents, stress where no stress should be
> . . . . .
> And the innumerable truant polysyllables
> Multitudinously twittering like a bee.

Excellent as the achievement often is, the metre can no longer be designated blank verse; so that to find a dramatist breaking away from even the shadow of this pentametric bondage and employing with mastery another and a freer rhythm is exhilarating.

Inherent in the story of *The Fire-Bringers*, and in an accentuated

degree, lay one of the hardest problems of poetic play-making—the difficulty of passing in the same medium from merely realistic or explanatory conversation to passages of lyrical intensity: the greed and grumbling of the old parents could hardly justify the rhythm of blank verse, yet no prose could utter the young wife's passionate pleading or work Deirdre's miracle. The poet solved the problem for herself and, we may venture to foretell, for others, by using for the play the beautiful and subtle verse-form in which she wrote her poem *Liadain and Curithir*.

> My son, my son, if I cannot trust in you
> In whom can I trust ? or unto whom shall I turn ?
> You will not pile the grave-stones on us while we are living . . .

It is a form for which there is no good name. The stress is strong and regular, and the rhythm is too firmly marked to be called free verse, while it is distinguished from even the most eccentric blank verse by its variation from five-beat to six or seven-beat lines with any number of syllables from nine to seventeen. It is not always easy to read at the first glance; but as mastered and spoken by the players it proved a wonderful dramatic medium, fluent and powerful, allowing ceaseless variation of pace and weight, passing imperceptibly from slow, broken talk to the flooding rhythms of passionate speech, creating by its own movement fierce gesture or the stillness of a visionary mood.

> Flann, it is not true ? You have but forgotten a moment
> The love we have given each other—but now you remember ?
> Think of that day of battle, when over the slain
> You leapt towards me, your blood-stained sword in your hand
> And your head against the sky, while the ships reeled and plunged,
> And the spray was upon our faces—and the shouts of the warriors
> Grew faint and were lost in the silence that fell on our hearts
> As we gazed one at the other . . . .
>
> Ay, and that night of stars, when the keen breath of the frost
> Moaned in the withered sedges and a net of silver was laid
> Over the world—but we had found shelter in the dun of love ;
> And to us no wind of the south laden with summer were sweeter,
> As we whispered of the wandering stars that are forever homeless
> And those that have found their home and their companions for ever . . .
> Flann, now you remember ? You cannot sell me !
> Speak ! Tell them ! Flann !

Here is no obedience to a rule of "feet": the line-ending is marked only by some pause or emphasis in the sense, and the

number of beats in the line depends only on the mood or music of the image—as in *Liadain and Curithir* we heard

> The shouting of hosts,
> The clangour of blade upon blade and the trampling of riderless horses;
> The rustle of dying leaves crimson and amber;
> Low fluting from out the dusk-hidden mountains
> And flames in the twylight upleaping.

It would surely task even Professor Saintsbury to find a prevailing foot—a normal unit here, or to say where substitution begins or ends. It is only when the mood grows quiet with despair or exultation that the verse flows in the level measures that we know: throughout the rest there is one law only: the recurrence of stresses at equal intervals of time.

Liadain and Curithir is a dramatic poem—the speeches of one woman tortured and distraught by love; the mood is tense with pride or with the bitterness and disillusion that come after pride. In it, therefore, the time-measure is firm and the stressed syllables fall relentlessly on the beat. But *The Fire-Bringers* is a poetic drama; the swift, impetuous conflict of personalities, and the words are full of immediate anger and defiance and love and hate. They break time therefore, and delay or hurry at the actor's will. Yet always the beat is firm and regular enough to distinguish this measure from free verse and to fulfil the mysterious functions of rhythm; and with the lyric mood the smoother lyric movement comes. It is a measure for which metrists should hasten to find a name. D. M.

Economics.

OUTLINES OF THE INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF IRELAND. By John F. Burke, D.Sc. Dublin: Fallon. 1920. 4*s.* net.

AN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF IRELAND. By D. A. Chart, M.A. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1920. 5*s.* net.

THE OCCUPATION OF LAND IN IRELAND IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By Patrick G. Dardis, M.A. Dublin: Maunsel. 1920. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

LA FORTUNE DE L'IRLANDE. Par Xavier Moisant. Paris: Beauchesne. 1920. 6 fr.

The great awakening of interest in Irish economic matters is witnessed by the number of books published on the subject. Of the four now in front of us that by Dr. Burke is the most important. It is extremely comprehensive, dealing as it does with the whole industrial history of Ireland from the earliest times to 1850. Every

page proves that the author has read widely on the subject. His treatment of the fifty years after the Union—a period the authorities about which are voluminous but scattered—shows particular evidence of extensive research. Undoubtedly this book will prove of great use to all students of Irish economic history.

We cannot help regretting that Dr. Burke has condensed the subject into such a small compass. We frequently find quite short sections of a page or two which contain material which might easily have been expanded into a whole chapter. Of course, if the book had been written in this way, it would not have been so useful to students preparing for examination, for whom it was primarily intended, but we cannot help thinking that it would have proved more useful to more advanced students of Irish history. One consequence of inestimable value which would have resulted from the adoption of such a course would have been that references to sources and some quotations from contemporary documents might have been given. As it is, the book suffers grievously through the absence of references. We do not for a moment suggest that every statement made by Dr. Burke is not well founded ; on the contrary we are perfectly satisfied that there is not an unfounded or inaccurate statement in the book ; but we regret the omission of the references, because they would have been of such service to students desirous of studying in more detail particular branches of the subject. Let us hope that Dr. Burke will repair this omission in some future volume.

It is with much pleasure that we welcome a new book from the pen of Mr. D. A. Chart, to whom the reading public is already indebted for two valuable books, one dealing with the history of Dublin, and the other with Ireland from the Union to Catholic Emancipation. The present volume is an attempt "in brief compass to present a popular history of the economic conditions under which Ireland has developed." It is impossible to compare Mr. Chart's book with Dr. Burke's, as they both aim at different ends. Dr. Burke had primarily in his mind the needs of the examination student, while Mr. Chart caters expressly for the general reader. It cannot be said that either book is better or worse than the other ; all that can be said is that each is good of its kind. Mr. Chart's book possibly does not display the same evidence of extensive research as Dr. Burke's, but on the other hand it is more readable, and contains a certain number of references. While we do not altogether agree with some of the author's opinions, we cannot challenge any of the facts on which he founds them.

We do not wish to descend from the general to the particular,

As we have already said, Mr. Chart is generally accurate in his statement of facts; he is also for the most part unbiassed in his comments. There is one matter, however, upon which we beg to suggest that further reflection might have led to a different opinion. Mr. Chart is inclined to exonerate the Government of the day for its rejection of the recommendations of the Poor Law Commission of 1833-6 on the ground that the adoption of the measures recommended would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible. It may be said in reply to this that there was not a single measure suggested by the Commission which has not since been put into operation, and that the way out of the difficulty which existed of providing productive employment for a large portion of the unemployed population was indicated by the almost contemporary report of Drummond's Railway Commission. We regret that Mr. Chart does not deal with the accusation, so ably stated by the Viceregal Commission of the Irish Poor Law, 1906, that the Poor Law was introduced simply with the object of aiding the process of consolidation of farms and of making eviction easy. The names of Sir George Cornwall Lewis and Mr. Nicholls are nowhere mentioned; yet it is indisputable that these two gentlemen were the real inspirers of the policy of the Government. Nor is any mention made of the infamous "Gregory clause" in the amending Act of 1847, although it is almost equally indisputable that this clause represented the full fruition of that policy. Disagreement with certain parts of a book is, however, not incompatible with approval of it as a whole; and we must conclude by saying that this book is a welcome addition to the literature of the subject.

Mr. Dardis—whose book is produced with the good taste which has made the firm of Maunsel famous amongst publishers—is to be congratulated on a very competent monograph. In spite of the extreme difficulty of treating the Irish land system in the early nineteenth century without a full explanation of its origin and progress in earlier years, the author has accomplished a very compact and sound piece of work. He has explored the most reliable sources of information, and has made good use of the material thus collected. His information is inevitably accurate, and his conclusions are in general incontrovertible. If this thesis is typical of the work presented by students in the National University, one must regret that more of them do not reach the general public. One cannot help feeling that much excellent work is born to blush unseen, owing to the absence of a University Press. Not the least agreeable feature of the book is Father Finlay's short introduction. The stranger to Ireland, on reading these modest couple of pages,

would never suspect that their author had done more than almost any other man to render the occupation of land in Ireland more tolerable in the first half of the twentieth than it was in the first half of the nineteenth century.

It is remarkable how many French writers have devoted their attention to Irish affairs, and how they all seem to be impressed by the economic element of the Irish situation. Father Moisant has now joined their ranks, by the publication of a very clear and well-informed little book, which is to have a sequel entitled *L'Ame de l'Irlande*, in which the political situation will be dealt with. The present book aims at proving what great natural resources Ireland possesses, and how inadequately they have been developed; and contains in addition an examination of the amount and destination of the Irish revenue. The first matter dealt with is the power capable of being generated by a proper development of the Irish coal mines, peat bogs, and rivers. The author reaches the conclusion that the importation of coal into Ireland could be reduced from its present figure of 4½ million tons to one million. He points out, however, that on the other hand the increasing prosperity of the country, in case of such development being effected, would tend to increase the annual consumption of coal, and the country would always, therefore, be dependent to some extent on imported coal. "One must not, however, rush to the conclusion," Father Moisant warns us, "that Ireland need remain for any length of time dependent for its coal on England." On the contrary, the time has come when it is possible to obtain American coal cheaper than English, and it ought to be Ireland's aim to do so. In this way she would break one of the bonds with which England has in the past fettered her economic life.

In the second part of the book Father Moisant deals with the overtaxation of Ireland, and the great drain of Irish money for expenditure abroad on Imperial purposes. This is all familiar ground to the Irish reader, but it is probably not so familiar to the French; and there can be no doubt that this book will convert many French people to a more correct view of the Irish financial situation than they have formed from the perusal of British propaganda on the subject. There is no lie more blatantly persisted in by the English press than that Ireland is a financial burden on Great Britain. This little book, the figures in which are all accurate, and their sources given, will dispel many illusions on the subject. The book ends with a discussion on the Irish banking system, and a brief account of the attempts at extermination made by Cromwell and the framers of the Penal Laws. It is altogether a

most useful publication, especially at this moment when Irish affairs are attracting so much attention in France; and we hope that its sequel will not be long delayed. G. O'B.

LIFE AND LABOUR IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By C. R. Fay. London: Cambridge University Press. 1920. 20*s.* net.

For the study of almost any of the phases of industrial and social development in England during the nineteenth century this book will prove of the greatest value. It treats of the history of the steel, cotton, and wool industries, the growth of shopkeeping, the Chartist movement, the development of Trade Unionism, the rise and spread of Socialism, the Co-operative movement. None of these subjects, however, is treated in a way to satisfy either the person who wishes to get comprehensive and general views about them, or the person who wishes to study thoroughly any one of them. The book consists of notes of lectures given at Cambridge in 1919, and has the faults inherent in its method of production. There is an abundance of very interesting quotations from old books, newspapers, letters, reports, etc.; very vivid sketches of life and life-conditions, exhaustive indications as to sources of information, striking tables of statistics; but the want of orderly arrangement, jerking the reader's mind from one period to another, from one subject to another, makes the book difficult reading. In one chapter (xxii.) the author, applying the principle that the legislation of any period sums up the popular movements of the preceding period, strives to characterise each of the decades of the nineteenth century. The attempt at such an artificial and inappropriate arrangement is (as it was bound to be) inadequate and misleading.

All through his book Mr. Fay lays much stress on what he terms the "semi-capitalism" of the earlier nineteenth century, that is, the oppression of the working classes not by capitalists or manufacturers, but by hordes of intermediaries called "butties," "foggers," "lumpers," "gangers," and a hundred other names according to the various trades. This system does not seem so very different in principle, though of course different in many of its aspects and methods, from the full-blown capitalism of our day. If the multitudinous forms of "truck" have almost quite disappeared, their place has been taken by other devices for lessening the rewards of labour. The worker is not now forced to deal at his employer's shop or to take bad goods instead of money-wages,

but he finds that the money-tokens given him in abundance have a lessening value.

The treatment of Socialism, as also that of Co-operation, is very inadequate. It is plain that the former subject is as familiar to Mr. Fay as the latter, his own special subject, but by his perfunctory and scrappy treatment of both subjects he does justice neither to them nor to himself.

Very useful for all students of Sociology is the practical instruction given as to the methods of consulting State documents, Reports of Commissions, and also the full lists of Acts of Parliament dealing with the various subjects treated in the book. L. McK.

EMPIRE AND COMMERCE IN AFRICA. By Leonard Woolf. London: Labour Research Department, and Allen and Unwin. 1919. 21*s.*

THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN. By E. D. Morel. Manchester: National Labour Press. 1920. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE publication of these two books is the outward sign of perhaps the most hopeful tendency of the English Labour Movement. It has never been the characteristic of Englishmen—at least of those Englishmen whose deeds are recorded in English history—to pay much attention to the "natives" of their colonial possessions. They did not massacre them wholesale, as a general rule; nor, on the other hand, did they consult the best interests of their subject populations. They merely used them as means to an end; and somehow the "natives" always wilted away under this treatment. In many cases, from the imperial point of view, this result was convenient, although, from the sentimental point of view, somewhat regrettable. The reaction of the English working-classes from the inhumanity of the capitalistic system has already brought about its inevitable result. Labour now seems ready to follow its principle to the logical end—the reaction from the inhumanity of the imperialistic system has begun.

The problem that faces any European government with colonies in Africa is very complex and difficult. It is impossible for the white man to withdraw now: it is not impossible, but economically and ethically undesirable to compel the black man to withdraw to "his happy hunting-grounds." There remains the difficulty how to adapt European civilisation to the needs of the black man so as to make him reasonably happy and prosperous. It is, of course, certain that many of the institutions and inventions of our civilisation which are real benefits to a European, are in the highest

degree noxious to other races. But which institutions, which inventions will suit the negro? And how prevent the noxious elements from intruding? How are European nations to acquire the wisdom that will guide them in ruling Africans? The little wisdom that they have acquired has cost the lives of millions and the happiness of hundreds of millions of negroes to purchase. Must the waste of lives go on till the full lesson is learnt through a succession of compromises so dear to the English heart?

The Labour Research Department, believing with Michelet "that all the great sources of human suffering are in a great degree, many of them entirely, conquerable by human care and effort," have begun to make the effort. Mr. Morel's book will fulfil a useful and necessary function in the movement by arousing public opinion and emotion on the subject. Mr. Woolf makes his appeal to a more scholarly audience, putting forward the results of careful research. The chief merits of his book are his contribution to the formulation of the problem, and his indication of the lines on which future research should be conducted. We might recall here the fact that the only conspicuous success in the handling of "natives" by Europeans on humane lines was achieved in South America in the 18th century. Perhaps students of the modern colonial problem would find some help in a consideration of the chief principle which guided the Jesuits in the Reductions of Paraguay. History, and especially recent history, has shown very clearly that modern civilisation depends for its stability on religion. The whole of European civilisation has been gradually built up on the foundation of religion; and the extension of that civilisation—as, for instance, to the Slavs in the Middle Ages—has always been preceded by the laying of the foundations of religion. No doubt it is true that a system of social conventions will uphold and steady civilised society for a time. But in the long run it is only religion that can do this work. Modern civilisation without religion will be a far more dreadful thing than the worst forms of pagan barbarism.

E. J. C.

Education.

MORCEAUX CHOISIS DES AUTEURS FRANCAIS DU X^e AU XX^e SIECLE. Par l'Abbé J. Calvet. Paris: J. de Gigord. 1920. 996 pp.

HERE is an anthology of French literature which may be warmly recommended—especially to educational establishments. The Abbé Calvet has wide knowledge and wide sympathies. He does not

merely cut out choice extracts : he comments and annotates with judgment and sobriety. Nor is this all : the volume boldly tackles the problem of moral and literary training by means of masterpieces. The student is to be taught to admire—with discrimination ; he is to explain why he admires—not only to himself but to his teacher. The text (we are told in the preface) is to be studied in its words and expressions, their interpretation being as carefully fixed as if there were question of a Latin text for detailed study ; its æsthetic value is to be arrived at by an analysis of its composition, its choice of words, its stylistic procedure ; its moral value by a study of its ideas and their tendency. The preparation must be guided by precise questions, the results must be tabled at least once a fortnight. And with all the items of this volume helps are generously given for the detailed carrying out of the scholastic method laid down in the preface.

Most teachers of literature will realize, we believe, the solid value of many of M. Calvet's ideas : many also will understand the dangers which lurk in them. As in the hands of an intelligent and sympathetic teacher his methods of analysis, exposition and repetition may become useful instruments of genuine education, so in the hands of teachers who are unintelligent, without literary sympathies, over-hasty or slaves of *routine*, they may become machines for killing off the tender growths of spontaneous literary appreciation and promoting the rise of a bogus crop equally useless and perishable.

It may be, then, that the application of our anthologist's methods calls for some discriminating prudence. But there can be no doubt that he has supplied our schools and many people outside our schools with a very acceptable volume of illustrative extracts from French literary masterpieces. G. O'N.

THE TEACHING OF HISTORY. By Eugene Hasluck, M.A. London : Cambridge University Press. 1920. 8*s.* net.

This volume is one of the series of Cambridge Handbooks for Teachers. As a Handbook it is excellent. It contains nothing very original, but gives a clear exposition of the best modern methods of history teaching. We venture to doubt the value of getting the pupils to compose imaginary letters from Burke to Chatham or from Disraeli to Peel ; nor do we think it practical or profitable to devote any of the limited class hours assigned to History to dilettante research work and study of sources. But on the whole the book bears the stamp of an experienced and competent mind, and should, we

think, prove highly suggestive to many teachers. The author, of course, writes primarily for Englishmen, and apparently regards the fostering of national sentiment and national purpose as the main end of history teaching. This conception of history is not new, and has been adopted and developed with striking results, especially in Germany, as Prof. Corcoran ably showed in his article on the subject in STUDIES (Dec., 1914). It receives little encouragement in our secondary educational system in Ireland, unless indeed the fostering of English national spirit be the end which the framers of our Intermediate History courses have in view. Teachers who are anxious to remedy this defect in their own classes, and who wish to teach Irish History on really up-to-date lines, will find, *mutatis mutandis*, much that is helpful and suggestive in Mr. Hasluck's compendium. E. F. R.

THE YEAR BOOK OF MODERN LANGUAGES, 1920. Edited for the Council of the Modern Language Association by Gilbert Waterhouse, Litt.D. Cambridge University Press. 15*s*. net.

IT is necessary to call, however briefly, the attention of Irish readers to this useful guide-book. It is a first venture. The Editors hope to give greater completeness and better co-ordination to succeeding issues. Meantime they have put together a valuable *quantum* of information as to books published and work done in the fields of French, Provençal, German, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Celtic during the past six years, with notes on the progress of phonetics and on "The Civil Service and Modern Languages." Care and intelligence appear throughout, and the matter and manner are not all of the Dry as dust type. G. O'N

Fiction.

THE CAPTIVES. By Hugh Walpole. London: Macmillan. 1920. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

The Captives opens with the sudden death, from heart disease, of the Rev. Charles Cardinal, Rector of St. Dreot's. "He saw before his clouding eyes a black pit. A strong hand striking in the middle of his back flung him contemptuously forward into it; a gasping cry of protest and all was over." He had for years neglected his pastoral duties, and the care of his household had been absorbed in the hoarding of money. A fresh and far from reassuring glimpse of his past life is given by his will, which leaves all his savings, with the exception of a legacy of £300 to his daughter, to his cook, Ellen Harmer.

His daughter Maggie, aged nineteen, a heroine recalling in many ways Mr. Arnold Bennett's Hilda Lessways, decides that religion was to blame for her father's unamiable traits, and resolves to have no more of it. But she is not to find religion so easy to get away from. Her aunts, to whom she goes, belong to the small but devoted group of the Inside Saints, who sit at the feet of Mr. Warlock, a prophet, expecting the speedy advent of God to judge the world. The prophet and his company of middle-class disciples are vividly portrayed; old Mr. Warlock, amiable, unselfish, profoundly convinced of the truth of his visions and revelations, distressed by his inability to understand and sympathise with *l'homme moyen sensuel;* his wife whose ruling impulses are love of her husband and of warm, dainty, well-cooked food; the varying strains of devotion, duplicity, credulity, and sheer worldliness among his followers. Maggie and Martin Warlock, the prophet's son, are at once attracted and repelled by the influence of their environment—"When you've been at this game a bit you scarcely know what you do believe, that's the truth of it," says one of Mr. Warlock's lieutenants, who comes nearest to being an utter charlatan—and plan to escape from it. A love affair between them is checked in full career by Martin's confession that he has a wife living, a girl whom he had married in Marseilles and who had gone off with another man a month after.

Maggie, on reflection, is inclined to think that this need not make much difference. However, Martin disappears, and Maggie escapes into a Church of England *milieu*, where she somewhat imprudently marries a parson. She has told him about Martin, and frankly owns that she does not know how she will act if he turns up again. Of course he does turn up again. He has found out that his former wife is dead, but Mr. Walpole has no idea of killing her person. . . .

Mr. Walpole has the storyteller's art in a very high degree, and it is not easy to put down the book before one has got through the 470 closely-printed pages. The minor characters in the book are sketched with great skill, and the author's eye for the minor weaknesses of human nature is astonishingly keen and accurate.

M. F. E.

L'ARC-EN-CIEL. Par Jean Nesmy. Paris: Grasset. 1920. 6 fr. 75.

L'Arc-en-ciel, so-called because dedicated to a little baby girl who has come "like a rainbow in a rain of tears," is a charming collection of short stories. They are told with grace and vivacity, humour and pathos, in language full of savour. They show a smiling insight

into the queer ways of the human heart, especially when it beats beneath the peasant's smock or the *mante* of some old maiden lady who has the spirit of her calling. Not that all the actors in the stories are models of virtue and disinterestedness; but even poachers, horse-dealers, and would-be deputies are mercifully handled, and contribute to our mirth as to that of their acquaintances and constituents. Imagine the situation of the candidate who has got, at a reduction, the reversion of a display of fireworks which came too late for the patronal feast of a neighbouring village, and who sees wonder after wonder culminate in—a gorgeous tableau of the Immaculate Conception! The elfish wind of the south blows here and there; and anon its sun shines. Much of the atmosphere of the book is not inaptly described in these lines:—

> The whole house gave out as it were a faint odour of bygone times. . . . The year for Mlle. Félicité-Prudence had had nothing very remarkable about it, nothing very different from the years before. . . . Pious or housewifely cares had been the only index of the rhythm of the seasons. Turn by turn the house had been fragrant with the blessed palm, the golden-brown Easter bread, the pear and grape preserves, the fruit-in-brandy, the black-currant liqueur, the camphor, the orange-syrup. Anastasie had had her usual bad winter-cold. Mélusine—the cat—who was old and chilly, had singed her coat by curling herself up in the warm ashes. And as for the Poor Man's Ointment—the theme of the story—it had had a series of still more wonderful successes, because the winter had been nagging and the spring sulky.

Altogether a restful and refreshing book. M. R.

THE HIDDEN CHALICE. By Ierne L. Plunket. London: S.P.C.K. 1920. 5*s.* net.

MR. COLEMAN, GENT. A Romance. By Enid Dinnis. London and Edinburgh: Sands. 1920. 7*s.* net.

Prayers, I understand, are sent up in England daily for the return of that nation to the Catholic faith. Although such a consummation is devoutly to be wished, the likelihood thereof is greatly to be doubted. At least, what their Lordships at Maynooth have recently styled "the new paganism" must run its course before such a realisation may be expected. For my own part I have been inclined to regard the English people as always anti-Catholic. The books which are the subject of this review depict, however, the struggles and sacrifices made through a century and a half by some Catholics of England at first to withstand and later to undo the overthrow of the Catholic Church. The completeness of their failure is the best proof to offer of my belief that the

principles of the true faith had but a feeble grip at any time on the English people as a whole. They do not accord with what, in modern parlance, we are accustomed to style the genius of the race. There has ever been enough stuff in the composition of the Englishman to make him resist successfully an innovation he dislikes. "The Reformation" triumphed without serious difficulty.

In *The Hidden Chalice* we have a pretty and even exciting tale of England in the days of "bluff King Hal." It is a story eminently suited to an Academy for Young Ladies of the Catholic Faith. The stirring incidents with which it abounds are pleasantly and convincingly narrated, and the character of the heroine *Alys* is well drawn. Thomas Cromwell is painted "with the wart" as faithfully as his more illustrious namesake Oliver could desire in his own behalf.

Of "romance," in the common acceptance, there is merely the mildest hint. No maiden aunt should hesitate to place this book in the hands of a favourite niece. If that fortunate young lady be an Irish girl, she may trace a resemblance in Cromwell's agents of the sixteenth century to the redoubtable "Black and Tans."

Mr. Coleman, Gent deals with the reign of Charles II. The author explains how she laid this book aside for a period after the appearance of *Odds Fish* from the pen of the late Monsignor Benson, on account of the similarity in the two works. The points of resemblance are indeed quite striking, and it is not impossible that had Miss Dinnis published her book without this note a charge of plagiarism might have been laid. A compliment is implied.

In this novel of the time of Charles the Second we find no mention of either "the Plague" or "the Fire," and for this we are glad. These themes have been overworked. While we are not afforded so intimate a glimpse of Whitehall, in the days when courtesans rather than "flappers" made it notorious, as *Odds Fish* supplies, we sup full of the "Popish Plot" of Titus Oates. The "Plot Magnificent," by means of which Coleman and his wife sought to win back England to the Catholic faith, is described at length. Ingenious, too, is the theory by which the author seeks to reconcile the discrepancies that appear in the character of Edward Coleman as it is recorded in history. A little less effort to imitate the style of Samuel Pepys would not have distressed the reader.

One cannot help noting how tenderly Ierne Plunket, Enid Dinnis —and Monsignor Benson, also, for that matter—treat the characters of Henry VIII. and Charles II. For the English, even a dead king can do no wrong.

W. D.

History.

IRISH UNIONISM. By James Winder Good. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1920. 236 pp. 6*s.* net.

The history of Irish Unionism can hardly be said to make very pleasant reading for Irishmen, but it is good that they should read it nevertheless. It is not the history of the progress or development of an intelligible and reasoned national policy; it is the history of the process by which what was known to be wrong was first endured, then (and very soon) looked upon as tolerable, and finally elevated to the rank not only of a political necessity, but even of a political principle. In the year 1800 practically every Orangeman in Ireland looked upon the Act of Union as a crime. In less than twenty years a majority of them had not only acquiesced in the results of it, but had begun to speak with hostility and contempt of those who would have overturned it; and for the next hundred years they have been occupied in consolidating this position. Very few Irishmen would have ventured to argue in 1800 that the Union would be good for Ireland; very few of the Irish party who have since come to support it would venture upon such an argument now. But it is argued that this is good for England and good for the British Empire; and though such an argument within the last few years (and mainly through the actions of those who use it) is increasingly discredited even by England and the Empire, it is of great interest to those Irishmen who reject it to study the process by which it has come to be the political creed of an important section of their own countrymen. It cannot be promised that the study will be exhilarating or heartening or even comfortable; but no one who neglects it can claim to be properly equipped for the study of the present position of national affairs or for the formulation of a remedy.

Mr. Good has provided for those who wish to be acquainted with the development of Irish Unionism a careful and a skilful study of the subject. He has explored not only the broad lines of the process of transition, but many of its by-paths; and his grasp of the material is as great as his judgment in the use of it is sound. Having lived for many years in the middle of Irish Unionist sentiment, he knows it from the inside, and his sense of humour and his humanity keep him from the doctrinaire treatment and the inflexible outlines which usually mar the work of honest and painstaking theorists. If one may venture upon a criticism of a well-balanced work, it may be permissible to question whether Mr. Good has laid sufficient stress upon the alteration in the estimate

of political and moral values which Irish Unionism has brought about in the minds of its adherents. There is probably no part of Europe, certainly no part of Ireland, in which justice and liberty are held in lower estimation than in Unionist Ulster; the very existence of them is forgotten; and it would be an interesting chapter in which some competent hand would trace the steps by which they have been played with, bartered and lost. May the loss not be for ever, or the recovery long delayed! R. M. H.

ERASMUS AND LUTHER. Their attitude towards toleration. By Rev. Robert H. Murray, D.Litt. London: S. P. C. K. 1920. 25*s.* net.

Many readers will remember the importance of the ideas of Progress and Freedom of Thought in Lord Acton's conception of Modern History. His influence, in more ways than one, is clearly discernible in the learned volume which Dr. Murray has given to the public. Both the problems mentioned are dealt with, and by a mind whose similarities with Acton's are at least as striking as the differences.

Though Dr. Murray's chief purpose is to contribute a chapter to the History of Toleration, he adds an appendix devoted to the idea of progress. The reason he gives is that "the possession of this idea cuts at the roots of persecution, which is founded upon the view that a body holds complete truth. If there is growth in knowledge, persecution, *ipso facto*, becomes impossible." This is a view rather widely held, but the philosophic justification for it is not so easily found. The belief in human progress and toleration may have waxed in strength together—the extent to which this is so need not detain us—but this proves no causal connection between them, at best it only suggests that they may both be the product of the historical conditions of the last few centuries. In itself the belief in progress, seeing that the consequences to future generations is more explicitly before the mind, would seem to strengthen the social argument in favour of repressing what is false, and so *prima facie* harmful. But perhaps in Dr. Murray's case, as in that of many others, "advance in knowledge" connotes a semisceptical or relativistic epistemology. One is also left in some doubt how far Erasmus's advocacy of toleration may not be traceable to the same source, and to the natural desire to seek peace on what he regarded as non-essentials.

In a volume of this description, where many things are discussed, and even more alluded to, the reader will find much with which to

disagree and to stimulate him to further thought. Many will certainly not distribute praise and blame in the same way or with the same measure as the author. Differences of this kind are of course inevitable where fundamental philosophical and religious ideals clash. But making allowance for this, I think that the thoughtful reader will find much in the main position of this book with which he can agree. He will find an exceptionally well documented comparison of the attitude of Erasmus and Luther to the question of Reform, by one who seems to have neglected very little of the primary or secondary authorities on the matter. The " Critical apparatus " is truly formidable. Dr. Murray even goes to the Gonzaga Archives of Mantua to attest a very minor and not very relevant point. But the comparison between Erasmus and Luther is not only based on extensive knowledge of his subject, it also strikes me as being thorough, moderate and sound. On the more difficult aspect of the problem, Luther's attitude to freedom of thought, the conclusion arrived at by the author does not seem in essentials to differ from one which I suggested some years ago in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* (October, 1917). When, however, he passes away from his immediate text and takes in " wide surveys " of modern history, his *obiter dicta* are more open to question, and he seems to adopt a view of historical responsibility and a " streak " theory of causal connection which, to say the least, are very loose. He is thus led into many statements not quite in keeping with the well-documented and well-balanced character of his treatment of his main subject.

The scope of the book is really wider than its sub-title suggests. The result is that the professed subject of his inquiry tends to get lost in the general background which the author has felt it his duty to provide. A more serious drawback is that the spirit of order and logical sequence did not prevail more in the selection and arrangement of material. Dr. Murray leaves the impression of having had his notebook constantly by him in his painstaking and extensive researches, and of having published this notebook before he had fully reduced it to shape. This impression would doubtless be unjust, yet it is very difficult to get rid of. There is, no doubt, in the author's mind a guiding idea, plan or train of thought which, were it revealed, would have the effect of considerably reducing what seem irrelevancies and inconsequences. The transitions are often abrupt, and the arguments not always easy to follow. He has also a habit of connecting together individuals and philosophical systems in a way which the reader may find disconcerting, and his references to medieval teaching will sound strange to many

of us. But once these minor defects are recognised, the general excellence of the work as a comparison of the points of view of Erasmus and Luther should be acknowledged.

J. M. O'Sullivan.

A HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF RAPHOE. By the Very Rev. E. Canon Maguire, D.D. Two vols. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1920. 21*s.* net.

A diocesan history appeals primarily to the priests and people of the diocese, for whom it makes the dead past live by throwing the glamour of legend or the light of history round many a familiar scene; but it is no less serviceable to the general historian, for whom it gathers together in convenient form and illustrates from local knowledge facts that would otherwise have to be sought out of many rare and inaccessible volumes. To deal with a land so rich in traditions as Tir Conaill, a land which plays so important a part in the legendary, ecclesiastical and political story of Ireland from the days of Balor Balc-bhéimeannach to those of Aodh Ruadh O Domhnaill, was no easy task, and Canon Maguire is to be congratulated on the publication of the first two volumes of his projected work. These two volumes treat of the ecclesiastical history of the diocese and parishes of Raphoe. The legendary traditions and profane history of Tir Conaill, its dynasties, wars, families, raths, etc., will form the subject of subsequent volumes.

The episcopal succession of Raphoe in medieval times is somewhat confused, and Canon Maguire has laboured hard to introduce order into this confusion. If he has not been always successful, this is due in part to the estimate he forms of the list of the Bishops of Raphoe preserved in the British Museum and published in full at the end of the second of these volumes. That there are inaccuracies in this list, no one will deny—*v.gr.*, John Mac Menman (1397) is omitted, through confusion probably with his successor John Mac Cormaic; Richard Mac Crossan (1366) is a problem still unsolved; and Eon Mac Ilbridy (1440) is a mistake for Conor Mac Ilbridy; but such inaccuracies, natural in a document based largely on unwritten traditions, hardly warrant a violent denunciation of the document. Canon Maguire, however, accuses the author of ignorance, defamation, and anti-Catholic bias. The importance of the issue will excuse a brief examination of these accusations.

"Glaringly ignorant authorship" (II., 330), "quite a host of illustrious prelates are unnoticed" (*ibid.*), says Canon Maguire. As for ignorance, this Catalogue supplies us with the names of three bishops otherwise unknown, but required to fill up the lacuna

existing in the first half of the thirteenth century, viz., Sean O Gairedan, Donell O Garvan, and Felemy O Syda ; and it is the only Irish authority for the Italian Bishop of Raphoe (1479), whom he calls George, but whose real name (as we know from recently published Roman records) was Ioannes Rogerii presbyter Romanus.

The Catalogue begins about 1200 and is continued to 1600. While the omission of earlier bishops may be a just matter for criticism, it is but fair to remark that for the period of which it treats " the host of illustrious prelates " who are unnoticed will be found upon examination to dwindle away to the one solitary individual, John Mac Menman, mentioned above. Canon Maguire includes, it is true, several other names in his list, but wrongly. Thomas O Náan, if he was (as the *Annals of the Four Masters* say) only Archdeacon of Raphoe and Bishop Elect when he died in 1306, is properly excluded. The Bishops, Antony and Robert (1399, 1413, 1414), were never Bishops of Raphoe, but titular Bishops of the see called Raphanensis, in Syria, suffragans of the Archbishop of Tyre ; and so are rightly omitted.

Again this Catalogue is said to be " an insidious attempt to asperse the moral character of the Catholic Bishops " (II., 334). The number of bishops incriminated is four. *A priori* it is not surprising that four unworthy bishops are to be found among the two dozen bishops who occupied the see of Raphoe from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. It is significant also that these four bishops lived in that century and a half (1320-1470), when ecclesiastical discipline was at as deplorably low an ebb in Ireland as in the rest of Europe. The learned Canon's explanations leave us unconvinced. A detailed refutation of them would occupy too much space here, but a thorough examination of all the available evidence forces us to the conclusion that the charges are in some cases certainly, and in the rest probably, true. The Catholic religion gains nothing by attempts to whitewash unworthy men.

There remains the charge of anti-Catholic bias : " the author was a bigoted and unscrupulous anti-Catholic " (II., 337). If so, his anti-Catholic bias should show itself clearly in the post-Reformation period ; but there we seek for it in vain. Conor O Cahan is not lauded for his schism, nor Donal Mac Gonagle blamed for his orthodoxy. The few facts mentioned are of no religious import, and they are narrated quite objectively. In general, the views of the author of this Catalogue, whether accurate or not, are but the current traditions of the diocese at that time. They are in harmony with the findings of the Jurors of 1609, among whom was the learned antiquary, Lughaidh O Cléirigh, who was no anti-Catholic. Niall

O'Boyle, in whose time the list was drawn up, was a bishop who offered an inviting target to a partisan libeller. He had plenty of enemies, Catholic as well as Protestant. The fact that he is neither praised nor blamed would seem to show that the compiler of the Catalogue belonged to the circle of Niall's friends, if it was not actually drawn up under the eyes of Niall himself.

There are many other historical points in these volumes well worth discussing, but we must desist. The criticisms offered above do not detract from the merit of a work which will be read by the people of Tir Conaill with deep interest, and which will remain a necessary book of reference for Irish historians.

John MacErlean.

Philosophy.

A STUDY IN REALISM. By John Laird, M.A., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the Queen's University of Belfast. London: Cambridge University Press. 1920. 14*s.* net.

Modern philosophy has usually scorned Realism, as being too easy a way with problems and not going beyond common sense. From the Idealist point of view, problems become more difficult and therefore more interesting. Yet the natural Realist tendency of the mind has constantly asserted itself, and Idealisms have usually called forth a Realist protest. Thus, Arnauld defended common sense against Malebranche, and Reid against Berkeley and Hume; and in recent times English Hegelian Idealism has provoked a vigorous counter-movement at the hands of Mr. Moore and especially of Mr. Russell: the latter being mainly concerned, however, not with the vindication of common sense but with giving a satisfactory foundation to mathematics. Lately a whole crop of new Realisms has sprung up. "If the shade of Reid could visit these regions to-day, it would greet Mr. Prichard of Oxford, but it would be startled by Mr. Alexander, bewildered by Mr. Russell and distressed by Mr. Holt."

The task of the Realist philosopher at the present day may fairly be said to be more difficult than that of the Idealist, because the latter has had so much time to make difficulties which the Realist must answer. Professor Laird attempts this difficult task in the present essay, written in an engaging style which is no bar to subtlety and profundity of argument. Although he says "his confidence oozed out persistently as he wrote," it will, I think, be generally admitted that he has achieved a considerable measure of success.

The type of Realism which he defends is very thoroughgoing, and may be thus summarised. The mind has a direct acquaintance

with real things. The object of knowledge is independent of our knowing. Knowledge does not construct or alter, but finds or discovers its object. Moreover, to know a thing it is not necessary to know all its conditions; each genuine perception, each isolated apprehension, each link in an argument reveals directly to the mind something real, and is true in its own right. Not only in perception and thought have we a direct revelation of reality, but in memory and even in imagination.

Dealing with perception, he selects for criticism the theory of the "sensory atomists" on the one hand, and that of Prof. Ward on the other. What we directly perceive are not mere intermittent, fluctuating sense-data, as the former held, nor discriminated parts of a sensory continuum, as in the latter theory. Both these views are inadequate, as they ignore the fact of "meaning." The sense-data are perceived; not, however, as mere facts, but as sign-facts: they are signs of continuant things; and so, what we directly perceive are the real physical objects, with the qualities, colour, sound, and so on, which common sense ascribes to them. This solution escapes, as the other theories do not, the well-known difficulties, how we can be said to perceive the same permanent object notwithstanding the fluctuations of perception, and how different persons can be said to perceive the same thing. Its drawback is that it is vague and insufficiently worked out. "Sign" and "meaning" are the magic words which help us out of all the perplexities; but they are very ambiguous and have been freely used by psychologists holding non-Realist views. The statement that sense-data are perceived as signs of continuant objects does not convey much unless a detailed analysis of perception explains its import.

In the chapters on memory and imagination the problem of Realism is fought out on less familiar ground. The discussion on imagination especially is stimulating, though admittedly tentative. Memory is, as Reid said, an immediate knowledge of the past. It is not a present image or reproduction representing or substituting a past experience, but confronts us with the real object which was perceived in the past, along with the place and time which it had when perceived. In imagining, the mind has before it the real physical object, just as it has in perceiving. This hard saying is smoothed down by showing that images are nothing else than memories with their time and place setting shorn off. They are recollections, but dateless and placeless, and so, floating: they are "old things whose specific context in the past is not remembered." Here the author seems to be falling back in his defence on questions

of origin, which is elsewhere admitted by him to be irrelevant. That a place and time setting was once there matters not, now that it has completely vanished. This mistake of tactics comes out much more clearly when Freudian analysis of dreams is welcomed as confirming the view that even creative imagery uses the same materials as perception does.

The chapter on Principles takes us over the old ground of the controversy about universals. These are not attenuated particulars, nor mere words, nor mental products, but are independent of the mind and really subsist if not exist. Some universals exist in their instances: others—the greater number—have no instances, and merely subsist; and some of these provide the fields of investigation for the new branches of mathematics and Logic.

Other chapters, dealing with common belief, with values, with the mind, and with the larger outlook of Realism contain much of interest, but I have not space to go into them. One point about the mind calls for notice. Personal identity may have gaps in it; and so (p. 177) it seems implied that the existence of the self during sleep is made to depend on the narrow issue whether it dreams or not. And yet all this book supports the Realist principle that a thing exists not only when it is perceived. Happy the philosopher who can hold all the parts of his philosophy together. J. SHINE.

LEHRBUCH DER EXPERIMENTELLEN PSYCHOLOGIE. Von Joseph Fröbes, S.J., Professor der Philosophie an der philosophisch-theologischen Lehranstalt zu Valkenburg. Zweiter (Schluss-) Band. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1920. pp. xviii. + 704. 26*s*.

I HAVE, unfortunately, not seen the first volume of this manual of Experimental Psychology, which appeared in 1917; but one can judge from this second, concluding volume that it is a very remarkable and important work. I doubt whether any existing treatise covers so wide a range. Every department of the extensive subject is treated, and with considerable fulness. Some idea of its scope may be gathered from the fact that in addition to an elaborate account of the usual topics of attention, memory, intelligence, will, emotions, etc., the following subjects (amongst others) are dealt with in detail: cerebral localization, disturbances in speech and in memory, language, expression (including mimicry and graphology), psychography, psychology of creative thinking, of æsthetics, of ethics, of religion; social psychology, sleep and dreams, hypnotism and suggestion, mental pathology.

The method adopted is that of embodying in the treatment of each topic summaries of the best and latest literature. This gives the work a somewhat impersonal character : the author often steps aside and allows the special workers in each field to speak for themselves. His is, however, all the connective tissue, and his guiding hand is present throughout in the selection and balancing of evidence and in the clear and forcible criticisms. He deals with the extensive material as one who is thoroughly at home with it. Considering the scope of the book, it is easy to see what extraordinary erudition and labour were required for its composition. The method referred to, while adding enormously to its usefulness, detracts surprisingly little from the continuity of exposition.

Metaphysical discussion is excluded from the author's scope : he confines himself to empirical results, and scarcely ever introduces philosophical arguments. He is, however, equally insistent on purging of metaphysical adhesions the statements of the authors he adduces.

The book will be very valuable for students, especially as a guide showing the existing work done in each subject. A treatise of this kind, planned to keep pace with all the latest achievements, will require to be brought up to date from time to time as knowledge increases. But it may be confidently expected that the book will be in considerable demand, and that the author will have an opportunity in new editions of enriching it with the fruits of future research. J. S

AN INTRODUCTORY COURSE OF EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY. A text-book and laboratory manual for the use of Colleges and for private study. By Herbert Gruender, S.J., Ph.D., Professor of Psychology in St. Louis University. Vol. i. Chicago : Loyola University Press. 1920. pp. 295. $1.50.

THE first volume of this excellent text-book describes 125 psychological experiments which can be carried out without elaborate apparatus. Of these the great majority are concerned with colour-vision (72 experiments) and visual perception of space (27 experiments). Then follow a smaller number on attention, sense-perception and imagination. Each experiment is very fully and clearly described. Besides description of experiments, a good deal of the book is devoted to exposition. This is very detailed in the case of colour-vision and visual perception of space, almost half the book

being occupied with the former topic and about a quarter of it with the latter. I do not know of any manual in which these two subjects are so clearly expounded. By careful reading of the text and working through the very skilfully selected experiments, the student will find that he has been effectively helped over the difficulties of these subjects. The author's demarcation of the standpoints of the physicist and the psychologist in regard to colours is interesting. The former deals with facts of the outer world; the latter with colour-sensations, which are "facts of the inner world" and "depend on a number of other factors besides the nature of the stimuli which arouse them." J. S.

Studies in Literature.

ROUSSEAU AND ROMANTICISM. By Irving Babbitt, Professor of French Literature in Harvard University. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. London: Constable. 1919. 17*s.* net.

"Man is a limitless being; he can exist partially, but his existence is the more delightful the more it is full and complete." This sentiment of Joubert's, placed by Professor Babbitt in the fore-front of his work, affords also a good view-point from which to consider it. A wrong interpretation of the saying might summarize the fundamental error of romanticism; a right understanding of it would bring the quarrels of classics and romantics to a happy conciliation and synthesis. While various wise teachers, some of them mentioned by our author but too many of them ignored, have shown the true infinity for which man is made, towards which he moves with unfailing profit, and which when attained is really his *summum bonum*, the Rousseauist Romanticism conceived the quest of infinity as the development of a limitless *ego*; they indulged in that *Hang zum Unbegrenzten* of which Goethe in his sager days complained and which proved merely a negation of every restraining and centripetal principle.

It may be gathered that the scope of the book is a big one. Rousseau is a personage who has had, in the opinion of some, more influence than almost any other human being. Romanticism has been, both before and after Rousseau's time a recurrent force by which human thought has again and again been dominated. Nor is it a phenomenon confined to purely literary and artistic spheres: Rousseau's career, as a vagabond of life and thought and a herald of revolution, may remind us of that. If therefore it is in art and literature that romanticism finds its clearest and

most acute expression, nevertheless such a study of romanticism as the present will be found to appeal not only to the student of art and literature, but also to the moralist, the sociologist, the psychologist, the historian of philosophy or of politics.

The book certainly meets a want. None in the English language has hitherto given an exposition of the unsound elements which have gone to make up a morbid romanticism. For reasons not wholly bad, the student approaching literature by English avenues has usually learnt to regard classicism as the enemy, romanticism as the friend : the former has appeared synonymous with narrowness, bigotry and dulness ; the latter as connoting life, freedom, excellence. The consequences when foreign literatures had to be approached at once appeared disastrous. Nothing could be done with Corneille and Racine, for example, but to class them with Dryden and Pope. Professor Babbitt has at length made it easy, without going to Brunetière, Nisard or Longhaye, to approach the great modern literatures in a wiser and more catholic spirit.

What, then, was the Rousseauist vision of man's infinity ? How did it lead him to seek, ideally and actually, the fulness and completeness of his existence ? The following are part of our author's reply to these questions :—

> Everything that limits temperamental expansion is dismissed as either artificial or mechanical ; everything, on the contrary, that makes for the emancipation of temperament and so for variety and difference, he welcomes as vital, dynamic, creative. Now, speaking not metaphysically but practically and experimentally, man may follow two main paths ; he may develop his ethical sense—the self that lays hold of unity—or he may put his main emphasis on the element within him and without him that is associated with novelty and change. In direct proportion as he turns his attention to the infinite manifoldness of things he experiences wonder; if on the other hand he attends to the unity that underlies the manifoldness and that likewise transcends him, he experiences awe. As a man grows religious, awe comes more and more to take the place in him of wonder. The humanist [or true classicist] is less averse from the natural order of its perpetual gushing forth of novelties than the man who is religious ; yet even the humanist refuses to put his final emphasis on wonder (his motto is rather *nil admirari*).
>
> [Dr. Johnson and E. A. Poe are then contrasted]. A man, the wise have always insisted, should look with reverence but not with wonder on himself. Rousseau boasts that, if not better than other men, he is at least different. By this gloating sense of his own other wiseness he may be said to have set the tone for a whole epoch. Chateaubriand, for instance, is quite overcome by his own uniqueness and wonderfulness . . . . . Hugo, again, is positively stupefied at the immensity of his own genius. The theatricality that one feels in so much of the art of this period arises from the eagerness of the genius to communicate to others something of the amazement that he feels at himself.[1]

[1] pp. 49-51.

Self-wonder, self-admiration, inflation of the *ego*, lead naturally to self-idolatry. Along this path Rousseau and romanticism were pushed by two influences developed during the preceding generations. One was the scientific naturalism, fathered by Descartes and Bacon, which treated man merely as a creature of natural laws, merely called on, like an ox or a tree, to develope his natural self. The other was the deistic naturalism and æsthetic morality of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, which showed forth man as naturally good and nature herself as beautiful and beneficent. From both was deduced a morality which rejected two fundamental Christian ideas—that of humility and that of self-control.

Rousseau feels himself so good that he is ready, as he declares, to appear before the Almighty at the sound of the trump of the last Judgment, with the book of his "Confessions" in his hand, and there to issue a challenge to the whole human race: "Let a single one assert to Thee if he dare: 'I am better than that man.'" As Horace Walpole complains, he meditates a gasconade for the end of the world. . . . He already goes on the principle recently proclaimed by the Irish Bohemian, George Moore, that the only thing a man should be ashamed of is being ashamed. . . .[1] Man has, according to Rousseau, fallen from nature in somewhat the same way as in the old theology he fell from God; and it is here that the idyllic element comes in, for Rousseau's nature from which man has fallen is only an Arcadian dream.[2]

Most men, according to Rousseau, are perverted by society, but there are a few in whom the voice of "nature" is still strong and who, to be good and at the same time beautiful, have only to let themselves go. These, to use a term that came to have in the eighteenth century an almost technical meaning, are the "beautiful souls." The *belle âme* is practically indistinguishable from the *âme sensible* and has many points in common with the "original genius."[3]

Such souls are not to be judged by the standards, moral and other, to be applied to the philistine herd. Rousseau's Julie "never had any other guide but her heart . . . and to do right has only to do all that it asks of her." Schiller and Mme de Staël have since given us similar conceptions of virtue in relation to the "beautiful soul." It is the exact contradiction of the Christain doctrine of original sin. The old words, "conscience, virtue, duty" were still repeated, and often with a fervour which deceived the incautious; but in reality, morality and conscience were abolished by a system which transformed conscience from an inner check into an expansive emotion. With such a Mentor, the Rousseauist could find little difficulty in excusing himself from the performance of any duty felt irksome.

In the chapter on "Romantic Love" Professor Babbitt discourses on sexual passion as it appears in the writings and careers of Rousseau, Chateaubriand, Hazlitt, Shelley, Novalis, George Sand, and others more modern. *A propos* of "Romantic Irony" or

[1] pp. 127-8. [2] p. 130. [3] p. 131.

paradox are quoted Baudelaire, Heine and—less expectedly—Wordsworth: for views of an opposite kind we have brief allusions to St. Augustine, Bossuet and Newman. Under the head of "Romantic Melancholy" the philosophy of reverie, fatalism and indolence is contrasted with the views of life advocated by the non-Christians Aristotle and Buddha as well as by Christians. Incidentally is discussed Goethe's attempt to solve the problem of happiness in his *Faust*. The solution, so far as any appears, is declared by our author to be a sham solution. He then leads on to the "gospel of work" which Carlyle learnt from Goethe, and to our modern "Prussianism."

> The utilitarian intervenes at this point and urges the romanticist, since he has failed to work inwardly, at least to work outwardly. Having missed the happiness of ethical efficiency, he may in this way find the happiness of material efficiency and at the same time serve the world. . . . [But] to work outwardly and in the utilitarian sense, without the inner working that can alone save from ethical anarchy is to stimulate rather than repress the most urgent of all the lusts—the lust of power. It is only too plain that the unselective sympathy or joy in service with which Goethe would complete Faust's utilitarian activity is not in itself a sufficient counterpoise to the will to power; unless indeed we assume with Rousseau that one may control expansive impulses by opposing them to one another.
>
> A terrible danger thus lurks in the whole modern programme: it is a programme that makes for a formidable mechanical efficiency and so tends to bring into an ever closer material contact men who remain ethically centrifugal. [1]

Leaving unnoticed many other points of interest which the volume presents we will conclude our observations with one or two critical remarks.

The first regards the Harvard professor's treatment of the positive elements of his various theses and of their sources. He is constantly at one with traditional Catholic philosophy, but he is either unaware of the fact or gives no hint of his awareness. He will, for example, find them substantially in germ in the *Théorie des Belles Lettres* of Père Longhaye, S.J. (published by Retaux some thirty years ago). Père Longhaye has far less wealth of exposition and illustration (he is, in fact, only leading up to the formation of young preachers); but he puts the main points against "romantic" exaggerations more clearly and apodictically than his successor. He will use, for example, a plain term like "God," when Professor Babbitt will talk of "unity"; he says "wrong" or "immoral" when Professor Babbitt says "centrifugal." Of course he is not the only American (or other) academician in whom we may notice the same repulsion from the plain terms used by vulgar orthodoxy. And with this repulsion is usually associated a readiness to ignore the well-springs of one's

[1] p. 331.

most valuable ideas, when these well-springs happen to be the great doctors of the Catholic tradition. One must deprecate these modern tendencies, without endeavouring to decide how far in a particular case simple ignorance is at work, how far a certain affectation—we hesitate to call it snobbery.

Our final comment on the work before us must strike the note of praise and commendation. The soundness and importance of the doctrines defended are amply responded to by the thoroughness of the expositions and the abundance of the evidences. If the style cannot be called brilliant, it nevertheless affords easy and agreeable reading. In short, "Rousseau and Romanticism" should find its way into the hands of every serious student of literature. G. O'N.

ZUM GOETHE-PROBLEM. Literarhistorische Studien. Alois Stockmann, S.J. Freiburg i/B: Herder. 1920. M. 4.20.

This book consists of some five or six essays, the general scope of which is to review the position held by Goethe, or claimed for him, in recent and contemporary judgment. It quotes many curious illustrations of the anti-Christian idolatry which certain enthusiasts have offered to the great unchristian poet. It calls attention to a new path of *Faust*-exegesis, in which the Kabbala serves as the chief guide. But perhaps it is not unfair to say that the chief purpose of this booklet is to call attention to the monumental work, *Goethe, sein Leben und seine Werke* by Alexander Baumgartner, S.J., of which the third edition, carefully revised and edited by Fr. Stockmann himself, appeared a year or so ago. In this design of his the reverend editor has our warmest sympathies and our strongest wishes for his success. Baumgartner's book on Goethe is not only the best in every respect on its great and complicated theme that has ever appeared ; it is one of the most perfect pieces of literary craftsmanship that modern Germany has produced. It combines native thoroughness with a clearness and delicacy of style which we associate only with French literary criticism and with a blend of geniality and humour which are peculiarly the author's own. Such merits would not wholly survive in the best translation ; nevertheless it is regrettable that no English version of so valuable a book has yet been produced. We cannot for the present do better than strongly recommend to all interested in Goethe and capable of reading German Fr. Baumgartner's masterly and impartial study, to which, for readers of 1920, the finishing-touches have been given by the competent hands of Fr. Stockmann. G. O'N.

Miscellaneous.

SOME WINCHESTER LETTERS OF LIONEL JOHNSON. London: Allan and Unwin. 1919. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE schoolboy letters written between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, by Lionel Johnson to two or three friends, schoolboys like himself, are surely unique. They belonged to their time, between 1883-85, a fat comfortable time in which England, and for the matter of that, Ireland, was prospering. There was nothing strenuous in the atmosphere of those days,—no "war on," no upheaval of the working classes who were yet sluggishly content with their lot. The young bloods of the public schools had to get off their energy on something. With some it was games; with others it was religion and literature. Let me concede straight off that there is something of a hot-house-forced, too premature atmosphere about the letters. A war on, or a stirring national movement would have been freshening and wholesome. Readers of Newman will remember that his university graduates and undergraduates talked religion in and out of season. The Englishman has a profound curiosity and interest in religion. It used to be quite possible in England to number half a dozen men among one's acquaintances who spent their Sundays in going to the Churches of various denominations. Lionel's delicate physique, perhaps, prevented his taking much interest in games. He despised cricket, in which he has my sympathy: it looks a dull game, but it is interesting as a revelation of National psychology. The Irish would never be content to look on at a game; they would want to take a hand; but it was a Lowland Scotsman who said to me that he would rather play marbles by himself than look on at the finest game. Well, Lionel and his friends had to find their adventures and expend their energies in intellectual and religious excursions. Of course, he was the king of these somewhat abnormal schoolboys. Only his letters are given: we would rather like to see those of the protagonist, but the editor of this book preserves strict incognito for himself and those others to whom the letters were written.

"As to exercise I make no promise," writes Lionel at the conclusion of one of these letters; so apparently his friend had been urging exercise. There is plenty of exercise of the mind in the letters. The discussions—were they discussions or was Lionel "Sir Oracle"?—range over all the religions, many books,

all manner of intellectual interests. One opens a page at random. Here is 17-years-old Lionel :—

> I think you hardly realize the intense reality to some minds of the Spirits, how they rustle their wings against our dusty, sin-flushed, sorrow-worn faces and soothe us into sleep. Oh the awful truth of that ! I cannot, could not, give up that world of my love : I do prosaically believe in it as I believe in the electric force. But then Christ lives. He is alive for evermore, alive, nay, near me, by me, as I write. His eyes may have read this before yours do. When I laugh He is my laughter : if I am disconsolate He is my anodyne.

This was written in Lionel's pantheistic days, but he had already aspirations for the priesthood—of the Anglican Church. He had the desire for a pulpit, which is not surprising ; but he had the desire for more than that, for a real priesthood of God which he thought possible in the Anglican Church, despite " Gaiters, Convocation, the Book, the *Church Times*, the Bishop of Manchester, and the House of Lords."

Earlier he was almost a Buddhist. It was the day of Esoteric Buddhism when Theosophy reached even Trinity College. Browning and Shelley were his idols—his feeling for Browning lasted into his later life, and in both he saw the manifestation of God and in one the direct teaching. Now and again there is a hint of his future destiny as a Catholic ; it must indeed have been somewhere in those days that he went to the priest of the Catholic Mission at Winchester and asked to be received into the Church. " You are a Winchester boy ? " asked the priest. " Yes." " Then you are out of bounds. Go back again."

To one who knew Lionel well he seemed out of his due place and time. He ought to have been a Benedictine or a Dominican in pre-Reformation England. The endless discussions and speculations, which may shock the orthodox as they shocked Lionel's family, belong to the mind of the contemplative theologian. One can imagine that the book would repel anyone who did not know Lionel Johnson. It might seem unnatural and unwholesome. But these were things of every-day life and thought to him, and no posturing, no straining after effect. KATHARINE TYNAN.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN THE HOME. By Christine Frederick. London : Routledge. 1920. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

IN this fairly large volume Mrs. Frederick presents a thorough and detailed exposition of Efficiency Methods as applied to Home Management. For obvious reasons housekeeping is more individualistic than ordinary business and industrial enterprises. While, therefore, business and industrial management has changed, developed and, in a certain sense, progressed under the stimulus of

competition which makes it vital for managers to look out for and adopt methods of improvement, the art of housekeeping has tended to adhere to traditional methods. That need not be set down as an unmixed evil, however, as anyone will be ready enough to admit who calls to mind the present unhappy condition of industrial life and tries to picture to himself what would be the consequences if similar conditions had to be faced in the sphere of domestic life.

Yet even housekeeping itself has not been able to escape its own special problems. There, as everywhere else, the labour question is acute. If the testimony of housekeepers themselves is to be trusted—and they ought to be the most competent judges—the question is particularly acute in their sphere, for it is really a question of the disappearance of domestic labour altogether. There exists a strong and a growing tendency away from the avocation of domestic service. In addition, as compared with business and industry, little has so far been done to organise housekeeping on scientific and efficiency lines. The result of this neglect is that housekeeping is often necessarily laborious and disagreeable, and now that assistance is growing progressively difficult to procure, the home manager (who is frequently also the mother of a young family) is beginning to be faced with burdens and worries which can scarcely be endured. The very wealthy can afford to make light of such problems, as they can of every other trial which comes of modern unrest. They are never hungry at times of industrial deadlock, neither need they be short of domestic servants so long as men and women can be attracted by high wages. But what of the larger and socially more important class for which expenses are still a consideration ? Must the mother of the family be content to live a life of uninterrupted drudgery ? Or, on the other hand, must the traditional autonomy of the family be abandoned in favour of the group system as realised in hotels or flats ?

Mrs. Frederick's book suggests a way out. With great detail and plentiful illustrations from personal experience, she shows how the best results of Scientific and Efficiency Management can be realised in the province of home management. By their means the home manager may be relieved in great part from the drudgery and worry which at present appear to attach to her province. A glance at the contents would be enough to give an idea of the amount and importance of the ground covered in this substantial volume. All I feel competent to say is that the subject appears to be fully and satisfactorily treated. The underlying principles appear to be altogether sound, and the numerous hints and suggestions ought to prove practical and helpful. J. K.

Books also received:

HILAIRE BELLOC ... Europe and the Faith. (Constable, 17*s.* 6*d.*).
CHARLES BEMONT ... La Guyenne pendant la domination anglaise. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 4*d.*).
AODH DE BLACAM ... Holy Romans. A Young Irishman's Story. (Maunsel, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
M. MACD. BODKIN ... When Youth Meets Youth. (Talbot Press, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
SEAMUS BURKE ... The Foundations of Peace. (Maunsel, 6*s.*).
PHILIP COGHLAN ... St. Paul. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
HELENA CONCANNON The Makers of Irish History. (Talbot Press, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
JOSEPH CONRAD ... The Rescue. (Dent, 9*s.*).
DANIEL CORKERY ... The Hounds of Banba. (Talbot Press, 4*s.*).
GEORGE CROSBIE ... The Casting Vote. An Irish Play. (Talbot Press, 1*s.*).
FATHER CUTHBERT ... God and the Supernatural. (Longmans, 15*s.*).
DALTA ... ... National Land Policy. (Talbot Press, 6*d.*).
DOMINIC DEVAS ... Life of St. Leonard of Port-Maurice. (Burns, Oates, W., 5*s.*).
ROBERT EATON ... The Gospel according to St. Mark. With Annotations. (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 6*s.*).
MAURICE F. EGAN ... The Knights of Columbus. (Encyclopedia Press, 30*s.*).
JOHN R. ELDER ... Spanish Influences in Scottish History. (MacLehose, 12*s.* 6*d.*).
A. R. EPHIMENKO ... A Short History of Russia. Translated. (S.P.C.K., 6*s.* 6*d.*).
A. B. O. FERGUSON ... St. Columba. The Story of his Life. (Talbot Press, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
MARGARET FLETCHER The Christian Family. (Catholic Social Guild, 1*s.* 6*d.*).
J. M. FLOOD ... Ireland and the Early Church. (Talbot Press, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
E. A. FORAN ... Life of St. Nicholas of Tolentino. (Burns, Oates, W., 7*s.* 6*d.*).
EDW. F. GARESCHE A Vade Mecum for Nurses and Social Workers. (Bruce Publishing Co., $1.25).
JULIUS P. GILSON ... A Guide to the MSS. of the British Museum. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.*).
F. E. GREEN ... A History of the Agricultural Labourer, 1870-1920. (King, 16*s.*).
G. F. HILL ... Coins and Medals. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 6*d.*).
STAN. M. HOGAN ... Mother of Divine Grace. (Burns, Oates, W., 6*s.*).
G. C. HOUSTON ... The Evolution of the Historical Drama in Germany. (Mullan).
TIMOTHY HURLEY ... The Immaculate Conception. Sonnets. (Educ. Co., 3*s.* 6*d.*).
JULES ISAAC ... Everyone's History of France. (Hachette, 4*s.* 6*d.*).
CLAUDE JENKINS ... Ecclesiastical Records. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 9*d.*).
M. J. LAGRANGE ... The Meaning of Christianity. (Longmans, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
A. G. LITTLE ... A Guide to Franciscan Studies. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 6*d.*).
J. A. M. MACDONALD The Case for Federal Devolution. (King, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
LAMBERT MCKENNA The Contention of the Bards. Two vols. (Irish Texts Soc., 31*s.*).
RICHARD R. MADDEN The Lives and Times of the United Irishmen. Nos. 1-2. (Martin Lester, 2*s.* 6*d.* each).
WILLIAM MILLER ... The Latin Orient. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 6*d.*).
JUSTIN MITCHELL ... The Sword of O'Malley. (Talbot Press, 5*s.*).
LESLIE MOORE ... The Greenway. (Sands, 7*s.*).
F. MULLER-LYER ... A History of Social Development. (Allen & Unwin, 18*s.*).
ROBERT H. MURRAY A Short Guide to some MSS. in the Library of T.C.D. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 9*d.*).
PADRAIC O CONAIRE The Land of Wonders. Translation. (Talbot Press, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
ELLIOT O'DONNELL ... The Banshee. (Sands, 6*s.*).
STANDISH O'GRADY The Chain of Gold. (Talbot Press, 5*s.*).
GERALD O'NOLAN ... Studies in Modern Irish. Part II. (Educational Co., 6*s.*).
KEVIN R. O'SHIEL ... The Making of a Republic. (Talbot Press, 5*s.*).
W. O. E. OESTERLEY A Short Survey of Rabbinical and Mediaeval Judaism. (S.P.C.K., 12*s.* 6*d.*).
ERNEST H. PEARCE Walter de Wenlok, Abbot of Westminster. (S.P.C.K., 12*s.*).
EDWARD PERCY ... Joseph of Arimathea. A Play. (Burns, Oates, W., 5*s.*).
AN PHILIBIN ... The Secret Altar. (Martin Lester, 1*s.* 6*d.*).
A PRIEST ... ... The Ethics of Hunger-Striking. (Sands, 6*d.*).
A PRIEST ... ... The Catholic Diary for 1921. (Burns, Oates, W., 2*s.*).
G. E. RAINE ... Bolshevik Russia. (Nisbet, 1*s.*).
NICHOLAS RIDOLFI ... A Short Method of Mental Prayer. (Burns, Oates, W., 3*s.* 6*d.*).
J. A. ROBINSON ... Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache. (S.P.C.K., 6*s.*).
HENRY I. D. RYDER Sermons and Notes of Sermons. (Sands, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
P. A. CANON SHEEHAN Sermons. (Maunsel, 12*s.* 6*d.*).
THOMAS SLATER ... On the Morals of To-day. (Burns, Oates, W., 1*s.* 3*d.*).
M. T. STEAD ... Itinerarium Regis Ricardi. (S.P.C.K., 1*s.* 9*d.*).
ABBOT VONIER ... The Christian Mind. (Herder, 5*s.*).
SISTER OF NOTRE DAME Sister Mary of St. Philip. (Longmans, 18*s.*).
SISTER OF NOTRE DAME The Message of Francis Thompson. (Burns, Oates, W., 2*s.* 6*d.*)

(*The prices of all books in this list are net*).

University College,
DUBLIN.

A Constituent College of The National University of Ireland.

SESSION 1920-21.

THE College provides Courses for the Degrees of the National University of Ireland in the Faculties of Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering and Architecture, and Commerce.

The following Regulations for the College Courses, etc., may be obtained on application :—

1. General Regulations, Scholarships, Fees.
2. Courses for Degrees in Arts, Philosophy, Celtic Studies.
3. Courses for Degrees in Science.
4. Courses for Degrees in Law.
5. Courses for Degrees in Medicine and Dentistry.
6. Courses for Degrees in Engineering and Architecture.
7. Courses for Degrees in Commerce.

College Scholarships and Prizes to the value of about £3,500 (not including Scholarships provided by the Corporation of Dublin and by the County Councils) are open to competition amongst Student-Members of the College.

Letters in reference to Courses of Study should be addressed to the Registrar of the College, Earlsfort Terrace, or to the Medical School, Cecilia Street. All Students' Fees due to the College are to be paid to the SECRETARY, University College, Dublin.

The College Offices at Earlsfort Terrace and in the Medical School, Cecilia Street, are open daily.

Telegrams—"HOSIERY, DUBLIN." Telephone No. 1292.

KENNEDY & McSHARRY

Shirt Makers, Hosiers, Hatters
and General Outfitters, :: ::

24 WESTMORELAND STREET,
—— And 3 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN.

FINEST SMOKING MIXTURES

NO CHANGE IN PRE-WAR QUALITY.

JOHN LEASK, SUCCESSOR TO

GEORGE MITCHELL, LTD.,

Wine and Cigar Merchants,

Telegrams: "MITCHELL, DUBLIN." Telephone 554. 9 D'OLIER ST., DUBLIN.

SIOPA NA LEABAR NGAEDEALAC.

THE IRISH BOOK SHOP,

45 DAWSON STREET, DUBLIN.

PLEASE WRITE FOR CATALOGUE OF BOOKS ON IRELAND AND OF IRISH INTEREST.

PART I.—WORKS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

An t-aon siopa amain i mBaile-ata-Cliat gur éigin do gac duine san oifig eolar a beit aige an teangain na nGaedeal.

——FOR HIGH-CLASS——

Cigars, Cigarettes, Fancy Tobaccos, Briar Pipes, and other Smokers' Requisites—

JOHN PURCELL, LTD., DUBLIN.

Head Office: 16 NORTH EARL STREET.

Branches through the City.

Telephone 1938. Telegrams: "PURCELL, DUBLIN."

You will find it economical to place your orders for

HARDWARE AND IRONMONGERY

with us. We carry a large stock of **Cutlery, Household Utensils, Garden Tools,** and **Builders' Ironmongery.** Quality and price right.

GLEESON, O'DEA & CO., LTD.,

21 & 22 CHRISTCHURCH PLACE, DUBLIN. Telephone: Dublin, 261.

TODD, BURNS & CO.

LIMITED.

High-Class TAILORING

TO ORDER.

SUITS and OVERCOATS

READY TO WEAR.

Gentlemen's OUTFITTING

IN ALL REQUIREMENTS.

Furniture, Carpets, Linoleums

IN BEST QUALITIES.

MARY STREET, DUBLIN.

BEST HOUSE COALS. BEST GAS COKE.

Dublin General Steam Shipping Co.

Limited,

COAL IMPORTERS,

18 D'OLIER STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephone 336 and 402. Telegrams: "WALLSEND," DUBLIN

Níos fearr do Lín-éadaí.

WE have specialised in fine quality Laundering Work, and hold Silver Medal and Diploma. Pioneers of Profit-Sharing in Ireland. :: Irish Materials used where possible.

SEND YOUR LINEN TO THE

COURT LAUNDRY,

HARCOURT STREET, DUBLIN.

Van Deliveries weekly from Bray to Drogheda.

MOTOR CYCLES

MANTHORPE & CO.,

The Motor Cycle Specialists,

Sole Agents for **Matchless, Bradbury, Scott, Ariel and Elswick Motor Cycles.**

The largest dealers in Motor Cycles in Ireland. Large expert Staff for repairs to all makes (under personal supervision). Best paid Mechanics in the trade. Large stock of Accessories and spare parts.

Manthorpe & Co.

193 Gt. Brunswick St., DUBLIN.

Telephone 3853.

Telegrams: "WATT, DUBLIN." Telephone: 4268 DUBLIN.

GEORGE WATT, LTD.

Engineers and Millwrights,

Soho Works, Bridgefoot Street,

DUBLIN.

Estimates given for Repair and Supply for all Classes of Machinery.

Clerical Tailors.

CLERY'S DUBLIN

Complete Outfitters.

Our Cutters are Specialists in CLERICAL TAILORING.

COLLARS, SHIRTS, UNDERWEAR, STOCKS, HATS, BOOTS, CUFFS, GLOVES, BAGS, &c. : : : :
Sole Agents for the "GLOBE-WERNECKE" BOOKCASES.

ILLUSTRATED CLERICAL LIST ON REQUEST.

CLERY & CO., LTD., DUBLIN.

Vestments and Banners

As a result of the Great War and consequent difficulty of securing Vestment Embroideries from the Continent, we have installed Three New Machines, driven by electricity, and have skilled operators executing most elaborate and elegant Embroidery, equal both in workmanship and price to those heretofore imported from the Continent.

We are anxious for your kind patronage, as we are specialists in Vestments and all materials connected with same.

We will at all times be pleased to submit on approbation, post free, a selection of Vestments, Ornaments, Braids, Fringes and Silks, of which we always carry a large and varied stock.

C. BULL, LTD., 21 Suffolk St., DUBLIN.

KENNEDY'S BREAD

FINEST QUALITY
· · · MADE · · ·

BAKERIES:

124 to 130 GREAT BRITAIN STREET

—— AND ——

ST. PATRICK'S BAKERY · DUBLIN.

MODERN MANTEL CLOCKS

Our really high class 8-day Mantel Clocks make a useful and ornamental addition to the dining or drawingroom. Beautifully cased in polished mahogany or oak. Striking the hours and half-hours, or chiming the quarters. Guaranteed excellent timekeepers. Prices, **£5** to **£25.**

GANTER BROS., 63 SOUTH GT. GEORGE'S STREET, DUBLIN.

MUSGRAVE'S

Heating & Ventilating

SPECIALITIES

For Churches, Schools, Public Buildings & Residences.

HOT WATER.—Low Pressure Systems, with Pipes. Ventilating and Non-Ventilating Radiators. Accelerated Circulations (no power required). Small Pipe System. Medium Pressure.

STEAM.—High and Low Pressure. Gravity Return. Exhaust Steam. Atmospheric Vapour.

WARM AIR.—Musgrave's Imperial Heaters. Ventilating Air Warmers. Slow Combustion Ventilating Stoves. Open Fire Ventilating Hospital Stoves.

SUCCESS GUARANTEED.

Experienced persons sent to advise anywhere.

—— Drawings and Estimates submitted. ——

MUSGRAVE & CO., LTD.,

ST. ANN'S IRON WORKS, BELFAST.

42 Deansgate, Manchester; Sardinia House, Kingsway, London, S.W.; 24 Queen Street, Cardiff.

By Royal Warrant
To His Majesty King George V.
To His Late Majesty King Edward VII.

By Special Appointment
To His Excellency The Lord Lieutenant,
And the Officers' Messes throughout Ireland.

McDONOGH & CO.,

VICTUALLERS,

11 & 12 CHATHAM STREET, DUBLIN.

Telephones: 1175 and 4634. Telegrams: "McDonogh, Chatham St., Dublin."

ESTABLISHED 1824.

Thomas, William AND John **Kelly,** **Dublin.**

89, LOWER GARDINER STREET.

Offices: 1 & 2, WESTMORELAND STREET, DUBLIN

(NEXT BANK OF IRELAND).

We respectfully solicit from the HIERARCHY and CLERGY a continuance of their valued patronage for the

Pure Altar Wine,

imported by us for the use of the Altar, and which we have for three generations supplied throughout Ireland, England, and the Colonies.

Price per dozen (Bottles and Carriage included) on application.

3/- per dozen allowed for Altar Wine Bottles when returned in good condition, carriage paid.

In other WINES we hold a large and well-assorted stock, together with the finest SPIRITS, both home and foreign. Lists on application.

NO CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER FIRM IN THE TRADE.

Telephone 1612. **Telegrams: "Threekays, Dublin."**

ASK FOR——

RATHBORNE'S . . . .

ALTAR CANDLES

THE IRISH

TRADE MARK.

Guaranteed and Stamped

75%, 65% & 25% GENUINE BEESWAX.

SANCTIONED BY THE HIERARCHY.

Irish Bleached Beeswax. Sanctuary and Burning Colza Oils.

Manufactured by . . . **JOHN G. RATHBORNE, LTD.,** [Established A.D. 1488.

Candle Manufacturers, Oil Refiners, Wax Bleachers, &c.,

PHŒNIX CANDLE WORKS and 203 PARNELL ST., DUBLIN.

· The I.A.W.S. ·

Came of Age last Year.

WHAT THE I.A.W.S. IS!

The Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society is a Federation of Irish Co-operative Societies. It is financed, owned and controlled by Co-operative Societies. Its Directors are elected and its policy controlled by them. Founded in 1897 by a few societies, it has to-day the strength of the Irish co-operative movement behind it. It is a co-operative society owned and directed by co-operators.

WHAT THE I.A.W.S. DOES!

The Wholesale Society was established to undertake the wholesale trading of the Irish Co-operative Movement. Twenty-one years ago its sales amounted to £14,500. Last year its sales approximated to £1,000,000. **All the business of the co-operative movement can be done by the Wholesale Society. BANKING, AGRICULTURAL and DOMESTIC SUPPLIES, DAIRY, AGRICULTURAL and MILLING ENGINEERING.** Ask the Wholesale to quote for your requirements.

WHAT THE I.A.W.S. CAN DO!

By organising trade and finance the Wholesale Society is in a position to aid, as no other organisation in the country can aid, the industrial development of our country. Our industries can be developed and controlled co-operatively. In this all can help by joining a Co-operative Society.

SCHOOLS, COLLEGES AND COMMUNITIES CATERED FOR.
ASK FOR QUOTATIONS and PRICE LISTS.

Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society, Ltd.

Head Offices and Bank:

151 THOMAS STREET, DUBLIN.

Telegrams: "PRODUCE, DUBLIN." **Telephones: Dublin 1432 & 3666.**

ROYAL

WARRANT.

Telegrams: "Poultry, Dublin." "McCabes, Bray." "McCabes, Curragh Camp."
Telephones: Dublin, 2481 (Three Lines). Bray, 22, Curragh, 7.

McCABES,

His Majesty's Fishmongers and Poulterers.

Fresh Daily Arrivals. Choicest Quality.
Fish, Poultry and Game, as in Season.

SOUTH CITY MARKETS, 11 RATHGAR ROAD,
48 UPPER BAGGOT ST., DUBLIN. And Branches.

HOUSE DECORATION

IN TOWN AND COUNTRY.

Private Residences Inspected and Tenders furnished Free of Charge

FOR . . . .

PAINTING, DECORATING, PLUMBING, ELECTRIC LIGHTING, & REPAIRING THROUGHOUT.

THOS. **DOCKRELL** SONS & CO., LTD.,

South Great George's Street, DUBLIN.

Telephone No. 3330 (4 lines) and private exchange.

WE are now OPEN TO ACCEPT ORDERS for

"LEANDER" MARGARINE.

But we would advise Customers NOT TO STOCK MORE THAN ONE WEEK'S SUPPLY.

TERMS NET. CASH WITH ORDER. WHOLESALE ONLY.

DOWDALL, O'MAHONEY & CO., LTD.,

"LEANDER" WORKS, CORK.

Talking about Irish Industries

does not extend them; prove your interest in their extension by purchasing a :: :: ::

LUCANIA CYCLE

the Cycle with the IRISH TRADE MARK. If you meet with any difficulty in being supplied by your local agent, write to the Manufacturers :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

JOHN O'NEILL, Ltd., Pleasants St., DUBLIN.

"CALLOX"

IS THE REGISTERED NAME OF THE WONDERFUL NEW DOUBLE WEAR WATERPROOF

CHROME SOLE LEATHER

Made by E. O'CALLAGHAN & SON, LIMITED,
CORK, LIMERICK and BELFAST.

Easy on the Foot—Hard to Wear Out. Light for Ladies—Stout for Men.
Every Sole Stamped "CALLOX."

THE LEATHER FOR CHILDREN, GOLFERS, SPORTSMEN, FARMERS, LABOURERS—in a word, the Leather for Hard Wear and Outdoor Occupations.

IF YOU ONCE TRY IT, YOU WILL NEVER WEAR ANYTHING ELSE

The Leather World, February 22, 1917, says:—"It is rather difficult to accurately gauge the progress chrome sole is making in popularity, but, as far as our observation goes, it is certainly in the ascendancy. Quite recently we heard a banking friend say he had sent his boots some distance away to be chrome soled, as he had found by experience the wear was twice as good as that of ordinary leather. This was quite a bona-fide testimonial, as obviously our informant had no axe to grind either way."

Sole Agent: E. J. LONG, 16 Capel St. and 5 Upper Stephen St., DUBLIN.

PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS & WALKER, DUBLIN.